

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

FORMERLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS AND WORLD'S WORK

★ ★ ★ EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW ★ ★ ★

OCTOBER

THE COVER

Uncle Sam, in the Social Security Act, offers financial aid to the aged, to the worker who looks forward to retirement, to those temporarily unemployed, to mothers, cripples, blind; in fact, to almost every one of us.

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There are 270,000 workers in the Bell System. The 100,000 telephone operators are able to serve you as they do because of the specialized ability of 170,000 other employees—installers, linemen, repairmen, construction crews, engineers, commercial office workers and the many thousands engaged in research, manufacture and management.

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BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

BY ALBERT SHAW

To how great an extent may an assassin's bullet restore Democratic harmony by removing the third-party menace?... Can AAA survive potato dictatorship?... A breathing spell for business.

THE SO-CALLED "inferiority complex" was talked about by a few pioneers of advanced scientific thought only one brief generation ago. Such phrases were the jargon of supposed new discoveries about mentality, motive and character. But they are no longer obscure or strange. From psychology classes in colleges the easy habit of allusion to "complexes" has made its way into the high schools. Even the precocious youngsters of the sixth grade speak freely of "inferiority complexes" when they regard with pity their more timid and anxious associates. We hear less about the "superiority complex", perhaps because it is less frequent, and also because it so often disappears when it encounters the resistance of the general, or normal, complexity of everyday life.

The "superiority complex" usually exhibits overweening self-confidence. Beyond a certain point it presents those "illusions of grandeur" that lead to the psychopathic ward and to more or less permanent detention in some retreat for the mentally disordered. In these things definitions fall short of rounded inclusiveness. The man born with an irrepressible sense of high destiny may have imaginative power beyond his fellows. Or he may be merely the victim of delusions, with no capacity to judge of his true status among those with whom he associates.

One might continue indefinitely with such reflections, whether in the language of common sense or in the lingo of the hear-say Freudians. But the reader of such remarks must always turn from abstractions and cast about him for specimens and examples. The career of Huey Pierce Long of Louisiana provides the most



MONUMENT

The Louisiana State Capitol, conceived, built, and dominated by Huey Long, will stand as a monument to his march to power. His grave is on the front lawn.

obvious of all recent opportunities to study traits of personality that lift men into prominence. For, as it must be admitted, Huey Long's swift rise to fame was not based upon unassuming merit.

He never doubted his own superiority. He pushed his way to the front with Napoleon-like self-confidence. His ambitions were always un concealed. He wore no cloak of modesty. He proclaimed his audacity, fearing nothing—except the very fatality that overtook him.

Far-Reaching Results

Lincoln's candidacy and his election to the presidency are familiar stories in that great drama of national politics that every American citizen absorbs with avidity. Those who think of our history in these terms of personality regard the assassination of Lincoln as a timely climax that lent to his name the assurance of immortal fame. He had not been a tyrant, and in his own mind his greatest work was yet to be accomplished. His second term had begun in March, 1865, and he was assassinated in April.

There are those who remarked last month—with some carelessness of phrase that belied their better knowledge—that assassination accomplishes nothing and changes nothing. Manifestly this could not be true. If treachery or treason at the hands of a mutinous group removes the commander of a warship at sea in the face of conflict, it may lose the battle and have most startling results. In like manner the assassination of a ruler—whether in office by "divine right" or by the votes of a free people—has never failed to have results of a far-reaching character.

It was said of the government of a great European country in the last century that it was "an absolute monarchy tempered by assassination". The "tempering" was preparatory to revolution, and the break-down of absolutism. Assassination will, undoubtedly, bring unbridled despotism to an abrupt end in Louisiana. Was the assassin an agent, accepting his grim task in the spirit of heroes and heroines of the past who have exclaimed, "Sic Semper Tyrannis"? Perhaps. We may never know.

Realizing the uncertainty of life, our forefathers attempted to provide for us a government of laws and not a government of men. George Washington did not stand alone while President. His greatest strength lay in his ability to restrain the extremes of faction, and to employ the talents of men who were out of harmony with one another. He could utilize the services of Thomas Jefferson as

Secretary of State, and of Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, while relying upon the prodigious ability of that great New Englander, Vice-President John Adams, and the high capacity of that urbane New Yorker, Chief Justice John Jay.

But such were the strains and dangers of the European situation that if Washington had been removed by the hand of an assassin we might have been involved in war many years before the Jeffersonian efforts to keep us out of war had results not unlike those of Woodrow Wilson's futile efforts a century later. If our government had followed Washington's injunctions, and had prepared to defend its rights with intrepidity, we could not have drifted unprepared into the maelstrom of Europe's struggle between rival empires.

This remark is not intended for disparagement or for argument. Rather it is meant for warning in another season of crisis. Mind your own business strictly, and be prepared with abundant forethought to uphold your own rights. Such were the views of Washington; but they were not sufficiently impressed upon the philosophical Jefferson and the legalistic Madison. They were, in contrast, fully grasped by Abraham Lincoln while ignored by James Buchanan. If they had not been neglected at Washington in a later period, our navy would have been strong enough to win a settlement for Cuba without the war with Spain.

The Garfield Era

President Garfield was assassinated in September, 1881, when he had been in office only five months. Factional politics had preyed upon the weak mentality of the murderer. It was a meaningless crime in the larger sense, but it illustrated the danger of carrying the feud spirit into the personal and group rivalries of politics. Sometimes such calamities are the result of suggestion. Everyone knows how crime waves follow some notorious example that fills the newspapers. Thus Alexander II, Czar of Russia, was assassinated on March 13, just nine days after the inauguration of General Garfield. The shooting of the American President occurred on July 2, but it became evident that the assassin had been brooding over his deed for a number of weeks.

The murderer Guiteau was not hanged until June 30, 1882, Garfield having died on September 19, 1881, after lingering on for two and a half months. But it is generally forgotten that in the interval, before the execution of Guiteau, Lord Frederick Cavendish was assassinated in Phoenix

Park, Dublin, at the very time of his arrival in Ireland as the new Chief Secretary. He was sent by Gladstone to end Coercion, and restore order through justice and good-will. His assassination was repudiated by Parnell and the Home Rule leaders. The deed had been done by extremists, whose fanaticisms had become a menace to the Irish cause. The English were stirred to frenzy, and a new period of disastrous coercion began. No Liberal leader was strong enough to check the reaction. Certainly those who know the history of Ireland, as it turned upon the Phoenix Park tragedy, would not say that assassinations have no political consequences.

There were numerous political assassinations in the twenty years following the death of Garfield. To mention a very few: The President of France, Sadi-Carnot, was a victim in 1894, the Shah of Persia in 1896, the Prime Minister of Spain (Castillo) in 1897, the President of Uruguay in the same year, the President of Guatemala and the Empress Elizabeth of Austria in 1898, and the President of Santo Domingo in 1899.

Those who do not remember the political events at the turn of the century, have perhaps supposed that our state politics has not led to previous tragedies like that of the murder of Louisiana's dictator. But the assassination of Governor Goebel of Kentucky at the beginning of the year 1900 made a political sensation that has never been lived down in the state of Daniel Boone and Henry Clay. It illustrated the blood feuds of the Kentucky mountains as carried into the higher realm of the state's government. The assassination of "Huey" Long in the corridor of the new state house at Baton Rouge is an incident that in some aspects suggests the death of Governor Goebel more than 35 years ago.

McKinley and After

This is to be no exhaustive catalogue of murders in the sphere of political authority. But having mentioned the foregoing names, the reader will not think us tedious if several other names and dates are brought to mind. William McKinley had served half a year of his second term when on September 6, 1901, he was shot while visiting at Buffalo, dying eight days later. Theodore Roosevelt became President at the very time when New York politicians were congratulating themselves upon having eliminated from further power in that state a Governor whom they could not control in the interest of those who supported the "boss" systems of the Republican and Demo-

cratic parties, then alike as two peas. Assuredly the death of the worthy and respected McKinley was not without political consequences.

Less than two years later, King Alexander of Serbia and his wife were brutally assassinated, and in 1908 King Carlos of Portugal and the Crown Prince were victims. Prince Ito, prime minister of Japan met his fate in 1909, and Stolypin, Russian Premier, in 1911. In other countries, including Spain and Turkey, high executives were slain; but the people of the United States were most concerned in 1913 over the assassination of President Madero of Mexico, under conditions that were of consequence to this country on many accounts.

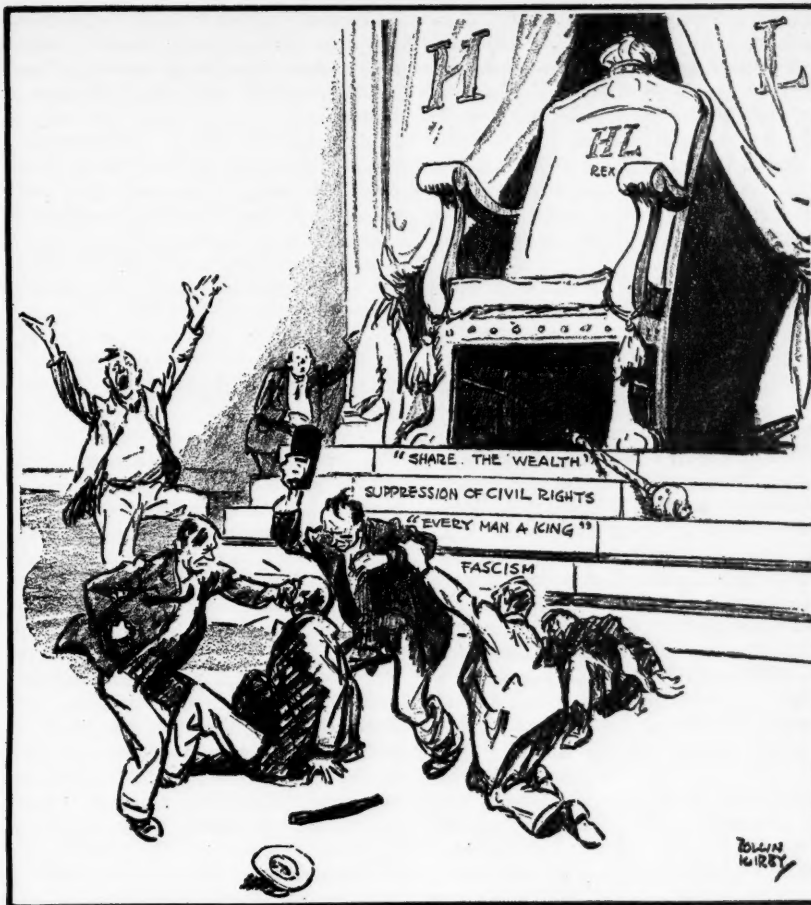
It was on June 28, 1914, in Bosnia, that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary, heir to the imperial throne, was assassinated by a Yugoslav student, member of a Serbian anti-Austrian society. Thus there was precipitated Austria's attack upon Serbia, that soon involved Russia, Germany and France, and led to the almost universal upheavals of a four-years' war. Mere personal tragedies thereafter were almost forgotten in the chaos of the war struggle. The date of the assassination of the Czar of Russia and his family—kept in mystery for a time—was duly fixed as July 16, 1918.

The list thereafter became increasingly numerous. On our side of the ocean it included President Carranza of Mexico in 1920. There followed assassinations in Spain, Turkey, Germany, Portugal, Bulgaria and, conspicuously, Premier Hara of Japan in 1921. Germany's foreign minister, Walter Rathenau, was a victim in 1922, and this was a great loss to liberalism in post-war Europe.

In the Irish troubles of that year 1922 Michael Collins, at the head of the Irish Free State, met a similar fate. A few months later the first President of the Polish Republic was assassinated. Vice-president O'Higgins of the Irish Free State was murdered in 1927, and President-elect Obregon of Mexico in the following year. In 1932 President Doumer of France was assassinated by a Russian exile. And a like fate befell the Japanese premier only nine days later.

Profound Results

It is not forgotten that on February 15, 1933, only seventeen days before his inauguration, an assassin's bullet aimed at President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt, killed the mayor of Chicago, and successive shots wounded several other people. If the assassin had succeeded in his purpose the Vice-President elect, John N. Garner,



From the New York "World Telegram"

SUCCESSOR

Who will succeed to the throne of Huey Long—not as Louisiana's dictator but as idol of the radicals?

would have been obliged to enter the vacant White House as President Hoover left it on March 4. It would be both futile and ill-mannered to attempt such a thing as an outline of the general policies that Mr. Garner would have recommended, to deal with the crisis of 1933 and with the problems of the depression. The allusion is made merely to stimulate an understanding of the fact that the violent removal of a chosen ruler must have consequences of profound gravity. When such things are brought home to us we see their significance. When they happen in foreign countries we read the headlines in newspapers for a day or two, and then perhaps forget all about them, although they may have the most serious consequences for the citizens who are immediately concerned.

It was on October 9, 1934, that King Alexander I of Yugoslavia, together with the French Foreign Minister Barthou, was assassinated at Marseilles. The murder of Alexander was not an individual crime, but in consequence of a Balkan plot, as was the case at Sarajevo when a Serbian conspirator shot

the Austrian Crown Prince in 1914.

It was a few weeks before the murder of King Alexander and the eminent French statesman that Dollfuss, Chancellor and Dictator of Austria, was murdered in his office by political enemies belonging to the Nazi party. This event affected political conditions throughout Europe.

Certainly the abridged list mentioned above is sufficient to show that men who assume dictatorships incur more than ordinary risks. Even those who are induced to accept high office by virtue of party success at the polls are not unaware that death loves a shining mark, and that our civilization has not outgrown the tendency to resort to crimes of violence against those in political authority.

The late Huey Long, who was shot at Baton Rouge on September 8, was always aware of the risks he was running. He never moved without heavily armed bodyguards. He had made himself dictator of Louisiana in a ruthless manner well described by an able journalist of that state in our number for March of the present year. He had cultivated the votes of the farming districts, and had routed

his opponents in the great city of New Orleans. As Governor his will became the law of the state—or, to put it more exactly, he wrote the laws as he would, and the legislature enacted them with little dissent.

For a time the press of New York, and the North in general, treated Governor Long as a buffoon rather than as a man of driving energy and of amazing resources of popular leadership. He had helped to elect Franklin D. Roosevelt, and had been

on terms of warm intimacy with Farley and the campaign leaders. Also he boasted of political friendship and entire accord with Mr. Roosevelt himself. But for a variety of reasons he had turned against the Administration, denouncing the New Deal as utterly lacking in sincerity and genuineness. His audacity stopped at nothing, and his ambition looked ahead to nothing less than to a successful campaign for the presidency, if not in 1936 then in 1940.

A Challenge to the New Deal

A few months ago there were large and growing elements of discontent, following radical leaders with blind devotion and with unthinking faith in delusive projects and promises. There was Father Coughlin, with his medieval type of communistic social doctrine and with followers by the million. There was Dr. Townsend of California, with his proposal to give an ample income to all people above a certain age, provided they would abstain from working and would spend the generous monthly allowance. There was Governor Olson of Minnesota, whose radicalism was that of a politician hardly less ambitious than Huey Long, but more discreet and much less inclined to run risks or to stake everything on first prizes. There were the LaFollettes of Wisconsin, whose socialistic proposals (*it would seem fair to say*) went beyond the limits that had been set for public spending in Norman Thomas's Socialist platform of 1932. There was Upton Sinclair, who had come near being elected Governor of California on a platform that was explicit in its proposal to lift the people of that state out of the depression by a mobilizing of the state's own resources.

As the weeks went on, Huey Long began to challenge the Administration with a boldness that amazed America and seized the attention of Europe. His gospel of help for the farmers and for the unemployed was not formulated. He was merely preaching from the text "Share Our Wealth". Sinclair's EPIC meant "End Poverty In California". Huey was avoiding the snares of an exact program. In the Senate, where no Rules Committee restricts debate, Huey Long had an incomparable opportunity. He could talk for endless hours to filibuster against a measure.

That President Roosevelt had abandoned completely the principles of the Democratic platform could not be disputed by anybody. Huey's taunts and challenges could no longer be met with mere disdain or ridicule.

The Senator from Louisiana was emerging, as the one politician in the United States whose cleverness and shrewdness might almost measure up to that of the occupant of the White House, himself the most consummate politician in American history.

Father Coughlin could indoctrinate a great body of disciples, and so could Dr. Townsend. These men could deliver votes to a political leader, but they could not step into the political arena on their own account. They were looking to Huey as their political strategist. There were other radical politicians of ability and ambition, but no one else had the fearlessness and the capacity of Senator Long. He was known from Maine to Olson's Minnesota and from Florida to the remotest hamlets of the South and West. He alone was in position to organize a third-party movement to which Father Coughlin and the other radical apostles would willingly have delivered their legions of followers.

All this became rather suddenly known in Administration circles at Washington. At least its full purport became known. Never before had any President possessed an elaborate mechanism for composite record, day by day, of the shifts and drifts of public opinion. Following the election in Rhode Island that turned an overwhelming Democratic victory of 1934 into a sweeping Republican victory in 1935, the political barometer that records (for the benefit of the President and Mr. Farley) the ups and downs of Rooseveltian popularity, showed a most alarming change.

Forced to the Left

If elections had been held in July or August, it was privately conceded that Roosevelt would have lost every state east of the Mississippi River north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers and would possibly have lost Virginia and Kentucky, with North Carolina and Tennessee doubtful.

West of the Mississippi, federal cash benefits had been poured out in

great "showers of blessing". The wheat policy had been ingeniously devised, not so much to benefit three-fourths of the actual wheat farmers in well-settled states, as to subsidize the destructive one-crop wheat farming in the semi-arid regions, and the farther West where the surplus wheat alone is produced. The corn-and-hog policy was invented primarily for the benefit of Iowa and adjacent regions, although corn and hogs are produced by millions of farm families in other parts of the country. If the Administration was in danger of losing the conservative East, it must make its choice and swing toward the radical West. Huey Long, of all men, challenged the White House with the boldest taunts. He dared the President to show that he meant what he said in his general reflections upon big business and private wealth.

The easy self-assurance that had promised the country that there would be no new tax bill this year was for the moment under eclipse. With amazing rapidity a tax bill was prepared, not with the motive of raising revenue, but with the obvious motive of "soaking the rich". New income tax rates were to confiscate an increased ratio of the current resources of people who held lucrative investments and had large incomes. Estates were to be absorbed into the Treasury in large proportion, on the death of their owners. Heirs were to be fleeced, and the recipients of gifts from parents or relatives were to divide with the Treasury, in order that more billions might be squandered by politicians—with postponement of the day of reckoning, at least well beyond the election of 1936.

Citizens Conservative

Seemingly, Huey Long's challenge had led to a decision that could not easily be revoked. The new tax bill was intended to preclude a third-party movement that would split the Farley-Roosevelt Democracy wide open. Such a split would have elected a Republican President, although it would hardly have elected a Republican House of Representatives, and certainly could not at once have changed the complexion of the Senate.

The country is today probably conservative by a good majority. By this statement we mean that even under the present disturbed business conditions, more than half of the voters of the United States believe in the Constitution, and look to the Supreme Court for the protection of our endangered liberties. They regard the vast bureaucracy at Washington as a sinister Frankenstein,

created by men of questionable ability and of limited experience. They rejoiced in the downfall of the preposterous NRA, and the silencing of that screeching atrocity known as the Blue Eagle. They are well aware that the devices of so-called farm leaders and agricultural-bloc politicians have led the AAA to the edge of a precipice, over which it will tumble of its own momentum if its fate is not hastened by action of the Supreme Court within the next few weeks.

This country has played its game of politics, certainly since the days of Andrew Jackson, with freedom of speech and plenty of rough language. Quite apart from the utter condemnation of the dastardly crime at Baton Rouge, there are signs of wide regret in some quarters, and of obvious relief in other quarters, that Huey Long is not to have his further place and part in the political contest that has already begun, in anticipation of next year's presidential election.

Personal leadership, at certain times, is of significance beyond anyone's power to judge its full weight. What would have happened to Italian plans during the past three or four months if Mussolini had been taken from the scene of his unshrinking mastery of Italian circumstances and situations? What would have become of Germany without the intense, fanatical control of Hitler? The third-party movement in the United States has been wholly shapeless and ill-defined, yet the available materials were immense. Apparently Huey Long was the only man who could have whipped them into shape. He had written a somewhat fantastic book, describing in an imaginary way "My First Days in the White House". In one way or another he would have been a highly significant factor in the campaign of 1936.

A Vote Now?

It would have seemed reasonable, in compliance with the Ohio law, to have called an election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of a Congressman-at-large, Charles V. Truax, who had won a handsome victory as recently as last November. His defeated Republican opponent last year was George H. Bender of Cleveland. The present Congress will assemble for its second annual term at the beginning of January; and Ohio Republicans hold that it does not lie within the proper discretion of the Governor, Hon. Martin L. Davey, so to postpone the holding of the special election as to render it impossible for anyone to occupy the vacant seat before the present Congress expires, by limitation of its

term. It is no secret that the Administration was exceedingly averse to a testing of party strength in Ohio, so soon after the defeat in Rhode Island. A spirited statement of the case is made for our readers by this Republican aspirant, who was defeated last November but who is eager to have another opportunity to re-test the sentiment of the Buckeye State. And Governor Davey himself responds to our invitation to state his case for our readers. Both will be found on page 22 of this issue.

Meanwhile the election of members of the New York Assembly next month must be regarded as having some bearing upon the question whether or not the President has lost popularity in his own state. The Republicans hope, and expect, to make general gains throughout the state at large. It is by no means certain that the Tammany district leaders are particularly happy under the discipline to which the state chairman (Postmaster General Farley) has subjected their once dominant political organization.

It is doubtful if the Republican leaders of New York state are half as well informed about possible shifts of party strength in their direction as is President Roosevelt himself. It will not be the inharmonious and bickering Republican leaders who will have any appreciable influence upon the voters who go to the polls in the first week of the approaching November. If the voters in New York state elect a decided majority of Democrats to the Assembly at Albany, the credit will belong almost wholly to Franklin D. Roosevelt, the remainder belonging to Governor Lehman. If the Republicans should win back the control of the legislative assembly—a thing not unlikely—the credit would also belong almost exclusively to Franklin D. Roosevelt. The voters have been doing their own thinking and will vote accordingly. Several weeks ago while Congress was still in session, eager to adjourn but under the lash of the President as its acknowledged master, it may be asserted without hesitation, New York state, like the entire East, was in a mood that would have made an immediate expression at the polls most unwelcome at the White House.

But Congress is no longer in session. The indignation of the people seems to have abated perceptibly. Popular moods are transient. Mr. Roosevelt has not lost faith in his ability to speak soothing and reassuring words, and to charm his old time majorities back to their allegiance. The thoughtful men, who have turned away from "F. D. R." because they have lost all confidence in his

stability of purpose and in his adherence to the principles that he has avowed from time to time, are nevertheless so reluctant to oppose him that they always apologize. They explain how lovable he is, and how unchanging is their sense of personal affection for him.

Aboard the Band-wagon

If these men, whose criticisms of Rooseveltian policy are so unsparing, must always stop to express their warmth of feeling while they are trying to save the revered Constitution from F. D. R.'s devastating exercise of usurped authority, what about the common folk? Who could blame the great mass of beneficiaries, whom the President feeds with his own hand from the public crib, for clinging loyally to a leader who is at once so fascinating and so generous with the taxpayers' money. And why should the rank and file of the great unwashed Democracy turn away from a President who never apologizes for Jim Farley and his methods, and who has rewarded Democrats with jobs and places with less regard for the fancy scruples of Civil Service reformers than any President in our history, not excepting Andrew Jackson?

Mr. Farley returned from his swing through the West in the early part of September, and assured the President (who was enjoying welcome weeks at Hyde Park among his Dutchess County neighbors) that everything was lovely from the Mississippi River to the Golden Gate. The President's forthcoming journey would be a triumphal march, almost without precedent. In the Farley definition book, nothing succeeds like success. This undaunted manager, who was once the official arbiter of prize-fighting in New York State, holds that popularity must be bravely asserted and never allowed to wane. Democratic politicians, as Farley is aware, love the band-wagon more than they love a mere trifle like the Constitution. There may be something theoretical in this old-fashioned talk about "State Rights"; but there is "nothing in it" for practical politicians when Mr. Farley appears on the scene. He tells them that everything is already fixed; that forty-eight state delegations are virtually lined up for the convention next summer. He prophesies that the election will be a mere formality, to ratify the enthusiastic decisions of the Democracy as to candidates and platform.

Mr. Farley, however, is taking no chances. He will devote himself to the campaign. He will resign from the Cabinet in January, and Frank C. Walker, former treasurer of the Na-

tional Democratic Committee (and handy man for distribution of \$4,-880,000,000) will take his place as Postmaster General. The removal of Huey Long has cleared the path for Mr. Farley, beyond anything else that could have happened. Yet apart from politics, Mr. Farley is a friendly soul, and his expressions of regret and sympathy to the Senator's family were undoubtedly those of a man sincere in personal relations.

Platforms and Promises

Father Coughlin had declared that the killing of Senator Long was the most profound tragedy of modern history. Yet it was reported on September 11 that Father Coughlin himself had visited President Roosevelt at Hyde Park (under conditions of great secrecy) only a few hours after the death of the Louisiana Senator on September 10. To politicians this visit had significance in a high degree. Was Mr. Roosevelt arranging to take over the blocs of radical voters, one by one, who might otherwise have preferred to rally about Huey Long? The answer seemed obvious enough several weeks earlier, when the President's own outline of his tax proposals was pronounced by the Louisiana dictator to have outbidden his own "share-our-wealth" proposals.

Mr. James P. Warburg, who was a financial adviser to President Roosevelt in 1933, wrote a series of articles last month in the course of which he showed that the President had carried out, with surprising fidelity, a long series of proposals contained in the Socialist platform of 1932. At the same time he showed that the President had sweepingly repudiated most of the explicit planks of the Democratic platform, although he had pledged himself in repeated campaign statements to uphold those planks.

When the President urged Senator Glass of Virginia to enter the Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, it was with full understanding that Mr. Glass was to shape the Administration's policies of banking and taxation. But the Virginia Senator has now been through a long and hard fight to gain some modification of the radical features of the President's Banking bill. When the bill was finally signed, shortly before the adjournment of Congress in August, Mr. Roosevelt remarked in his light and pleasant vein that among those present Senator Glass undoubtedly was the only man who really knew or understood what was in the Act.

Certainly Mr. Glass has not changed his views since he was asked to enter the Cabinet. Mr. Lewis Douglas has found it possible, also, to adhere to

the ideas that he and the President fully shared when he was insistently persuaded to give up his seat in Congress and to become Director of the Budget. Mr. Roosevelt, referring to the great mass of legislation that he has forced through Congress, now declares that he was merely meeting the necessities of the country's situations as they arose. But men like Senator Glass, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Warburg, and others who were at the President's elbow, do not believe that the President's complete change of purpose and policy, since emergency powers were conferred upon him, has in any respect been justified by altered situations.

Among the most remarkable of the President's recent moves was one that took form in a letter to Mr. Roy Howard, head of a group of influential newspapers. Mr. Howard had written to the President explaining the continued fears and anxieties of the business community because of New Deal activities, especially in the field of legislation. The President replied in a reassuring letter, promising business a "breathing spell", and intimating that his terrifying program of laws affecting business was substantially completed.

Obviously there could be no more laws passed until Congress meets again next January. Wall street is mercurial, and eager for any word or sign to justify more activity and better prices. The President's letter certainly put money into the pockets of dealers who were quick enough to take advantage of its soothing expressions. But to hard-boiled politicians, who are not so temperamental as the stock-exchange men, the secret visit of Father Coughlin would seem a significant indication of a strong swing to the Left. They would not be ready to argue off-hand that the Howard letter should be construed as a definite pledge to the conservatism of the East. We are not expressing opinions of our own, but are merely trying to diagnose political conditions in an objective way.

Recent Legislation

President Roosevelt's remark to Senator Glass, like many things spoken in jest, carried more than a small grain of serious truth. We may feel justified in expressing a general opinion about the legislative enactments of the long Congress session that ended in some confusion, due to a senate filibuster, on August 26. But bills were passed through both houses in an ill-digested mass, forced upon Congress from the outside. Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, chairman of the committee that reported the Holding Company bill

and its foremost champion, was reported to have said that he had not read the measure. This report was presumably at fault. But we are ready to say that the bill was not carried through either house by virtue of the speeches and votes of men who had initiated the measure, or who were dealing with it as competent law-makers. They were simply taking orders from an outside source.

The Guffey Coal bill, the Wagner Labor bill, the Social Securities measure—these and some other important measures were enacted with large Democratic majorities, at the President's insistence. Carter Glass succeeded in making some changes in the Banking Act. But his success was exceptional. The present Congress will reopen its doors in January for its final term. No one knows what business will come before it. For the first time perhaps in the history of the United States, Congress will have little or nothing to do with the exercise of public functions that belong to it exclusively under the Constitution. Mr. Farley declares that the great Roosevelt victory of 1932 will look almost like a defeat when compared with the vote that is to carry all the states of the Union for the President next year. It cannot, of course, be a vote for the Democratic platform because—if Farley should be correct in his forecast, which is quite possible—the next Roosevelt victory would be due principally to the fact that the President has completely repudiated the Democratic platform of 1932, and substituted for it a great number of the planks of the Socialist platform. It would be rather foolish for the Democrats to adopt any platform next year, except one endorsing what the President has done, and promising to give him *carte blanche* for another four years.

The Republicans are proposing to uphold the federal courts in defending the Constitution. But to the mass of voters who know nothing about the Constitution and care less, this attitude may merely strengthen the President's position. Relief money, or preferably a safe and easy job, will appeal to the voters as against stern arguments about the disregard of organic law.

But even the New Deal is beginning to worry about the continued cost of its profligacy. There was never any reason for the invasion of the states by federal relief agencies. Every state could have taken better care of its own population. Washington could have assisted the states, in the very few cases of need, with continued loans. It is now endeavoring to extricate itself from a false position, but the process will be difficult and painful. Mr. Clapper writes in

our present number regarding the forlorn miscalculations and unhappy confusions that are attending the effort to make nearly five thousand million dollars provide a year's work for three and a half million men.

Secretary Ickes has found his orthodox program (that of actual public works of lasting importance) rejected almost *in toto*. Public works of this character would require machinery and materials, and would greatly stimulate private employ-

ment, which of course is the only road to recovery. But President Roosevelt has chosen to favor many thousands of small and light jobs, requiring little investment in material and large investment in low-priced, "subsistence" labor, in order to give immediate employment in their own neighborhoods to millions of jobless men. This system is improvident, but it will perhaps serve best until after the election of next year. Harry Hopkins can operate it very well.

Potato Dictatorship

The most intricate of the New Deal's inventions, now that the courts have swept away the vast overshadowing structure of NRA, is symbolized by the triple use of the first letter of the alphabet. No one can understand AAA who does not go back some years to the agricultural tariff, the McNary-Haugen bill, and the bold but unavailing efforts of the Farm Board to assist in the marketing of surplus farm commodities beginning with wheat but by no means ending there. The collapse of farm prices was due to the resumption of energetic peace-time production in European countries, two or three years after the conclusion of the Great War and the cutting-off of American credits.

The land system of the United States had encouraged the rapid settlement of the fertile prairies, and in the '80s, half a century ago, the surplus of wheat, corn, cattle and hogs overwhelmed the old farming of the states east of Illinois and also created the chronic troubles of farm life in Europe. In utter disregard of the welfare of nine-tenths of the farm families of the United States, Uncle Sam continued the process of unrestricted distribution of public lands, west of the Missouri River. In the Dakotas, Montana, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Oklahoma, and the arid Southwest settlers were encouraged to take up land, and utilize the stored-up plant food of centuries.

Then was the period when there should have been some idea of land control and restricted utilization. Since the whole trouble was due to the colossal folly of our vaunted public-land system, with its free gifts of quarter-sections in the first instance, and of larger areas farther west, it would seem that the faults of federal policy would have to be cured on the federal scale.

But there was only one straightforward and honest way to meet the crisis in farm prices caused by overproduction and the loss of foreign markets. That honest and straight-

forward way was rejected, because the policies of the AAA were not made in the interest of farmers so much as they were made for those who invented them, namely, the representatives of far-western speculation. Farmers produce no wheat surplus, but they can always supply the needs of the United States.

The surplus is produced by the one-crop miners of phosphates, nitrogen, and potash, who do not live on the land and are in no true sense farmers. Their operations ought to have been suppressed, on some plan of compensation. It is true that all farmers gain some benefit from enhanced prices. But crop restriction as applied to genuine farming was ridiculous, and in the long run must be disastrous. The fundamental fault of the AAA lies in the fact that its subsidies go in greater part to the very people whose practices produce the conditions that the government is pretending to remedy.

The cotton situation is analyzed in this number by Mr. Revere, who is widely known as an authority upon commodities and markets, and especially as a close student of all the factors that are concerned with cotton as a competitive product in world markets. Mr. Revere shows how our Washington policies are permanently transferring the cotton industry to foreign fields and factories.

From the public standpoint, the most outrageous feature of the AAA is the processing-tax system. So far as we are aware, no such sales tax on food and the products of agriculture has ever been levied in any country, from the days of lean and fat years in Egypt to the harsh and destructive tax policies of Turkey two generations ago. The Turks now run an enlightened government, and would be horrified by the shameless tyranny of our levies upon the entire population disguised in the phrase "processing taxes".

To break down a system so vicious in its exactions, and so utterly false in its premises, there must be some-

thing to create a counter clamor. Higher prices were expected to keep the farmers clamoring wildly for continuance of a system that no farmer understands in detail or could possibly explain. Housewives, indeed, were beginning to clamor over the high price of pork chops; but they could not clearly discern the hand of Uncle Sam as he manipulated the hog-and-corn policy. That the processing taxes would be swept away as soon as the Supreme Court could deal with cases on appeal was taken for granted. But the beneficiaries west of the Mississippi River and in southern areas were expecting to have their subsidies continued, regardless of the sales taxes that now aggregate about \$600,000,000 annually.

Something had to happen to awaken a large public to the intolerable tyranny of the Government's assumption of power to deal personally and directly with the producers of crops, and to pay bounties at the sole discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture with funds levied upon the food of the entire population. Among the AAA "amendments" passed toward the end of the recent Congress session was one which adds potatoes to the list of products that the Government assumes to control.

As regards potatoes, the Secretary's dictatorship becomes complete. It goes beyond the control methods that were applied to other crops in the original measure. Potatoes are a specialty in certain districts, notably in the great county of Aroostook in the state of Maine, where perhaps one-eighth of the entire potato crop of the country is produced. But potatoes are also grown by millions of farmers and gardeners, primarily for their own use, but incidentally for sale or exchange.



By Sykes, in the Boston Evening Transcript
Producers and consumers alike must watch their step in potato dealings.

The excess output of potatoes during the past two or three seasons has been due in part to weather conditions resulting in a large yield, and in part to an increased acreage because farmers had to do something with soil excluded from the growth of usual crops by AAA contracts. The Potato Act takes effect on December 1; that is to say, "the allotment year for potatoes is the twelve months period beginning December 1 and ending November 30." It is announced that the "administration of the Potato Control Act would be under the immediate supervision of the Director of the division of tobacco, sugar, rice, and peanuts."

In one or another of the special potato districts the government dictatorship may not be hard to administer. It would be almost as easy for the big producers and shippers of Maine to pack potatoes as prescribed, and to affix a government stamp to each package, as it is for a distillery or a cigarette factory to apply revenue stamps. For these large producers the low price of potatoes has been disastrous. But potatoes, as the most universal and desirable of all ordinary vegetables, are a boon to poor people at low prices. The big growers can afford to accept reduced acreage allotments, if the Government can jack up the market price by two or three hundred per cent.

Surplus Problem

The first proceeding, apparently, will be to work out a program at Washington that will deal with the existing surplus. There will be a universal acreage allotment. There will also be a national sales allotment. There will be a tax, probably confiscatory, upon all potatoes sold in excess of the national sales allotment.

The big producers have been responsible for this law, and nobody should blame Secretary Wallace. For that matter, the whole system of crop control originated with large producers of specific crops, and not at all with genuine farmers. By genuine farmers we mean those who maintain soils, rotate crops, keep cows and poultry, have their own fruit trees and gardens, and make farming a manner of life. There are millions of these people. The AAA was devised for the benefit of commercial producers of single crops. Their surplus output is what has injured millions of real farmers by breaking down prices.

The earlier crop control plans giving (let us say) a hundred million dollars of bonus money a year on wheat contracts, three hundred million dollars on corn-and-hog con-

tracts, with perhaps two hundred millions to buy the cattle of the drought regions, were on the voluntary basis. If you preferred to manage your own affairs in your own way nobody could interfere with you, but you would receive no check from Secretary Wallace. The Potato Control is altogether different. The big producers are not going to have the market absorbed by small competitors. All producers, even those who raise potatoes in a few square feet of their back yards, are brought under a compulsory federal jurisdiction.

Our highly respected friend Senator Bailey of North Carolina had opposed the original Cotton Control bill, but when tobacco and peanuts were also controlled North Carolina went in "hell-bent for potatoes". As Senator Bailey puts it, "Under the operation of the Crop Control Act, farmers have been driven from cotton, tobacco, and peanut production, as well as other crops, and have gone into the production of potatoes." So he deems it simple justice, regardless of mere constitutional rights, "to give the producer of potatoes some sort of protection against the operations of the other control acts."

Buyer and Seller

Idaho raises amazingly fine potatoes, and ships them everywhere with state pride. So Senator Borah, who must have hated the principles of this Potato Control bill, had to vote for it. The same thing is true of Senators Hale and White, representing Maine, that down-east state that prospers when potatoes sell at normal prices but slumps sadly when potatoes sell for less than the price of the barrels in which they are shipped.

The Potato Act seemingly has no loopholes. It provides for telling you how much of a crop you may raise, and regulates you strictly if you are producing more than five bushels. Under favorable conditions of soil and weather, several hundred bushels of potatoes can be grown on a single acre (about two hundred feet square). The permitted five bushels could be grown in the neglected corner of a small garden. But you must not sell a single peck of your five bushels to a roadside purchaser unless you have been licensed so to do; and what you sell must be packed as prescribed and provided with a government stamp.

Potatoes are in universal use; and certainly this was not true of alcoholic liquors during the prohibition period. But the Government could not suppress the illegal manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. Under the prohibition law, the seller was a criminal but the buyer was inno-

cent. The potato law corrects this oversight. You may be fined up to \$1,000 for your first potato offense, and besides the fine you may be imprisoned for a whole year for a second breach of the potato law. These penalties apply to anybody who sells or offers to sell potatoes that are not put up in government packages and labeled and stamped as required. It also applies equally to anybody who buys or offers to buy potatoes that are not thus packed and labeled.

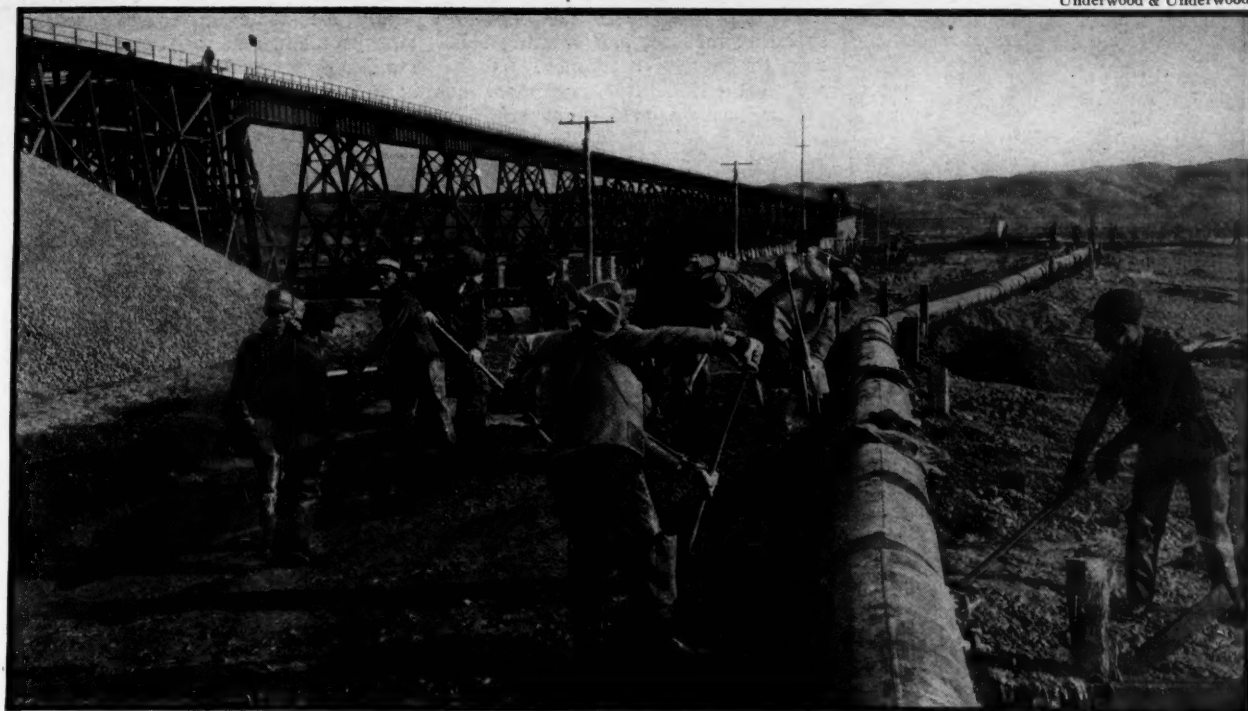
Public Reactions

It would seem superfluous to expostulate about the strange provisions of this law. They are rather bewildering, because they carry the denial of ordinary liberty to such an extent that few people can think of it as possible. If there is anyone who supposes that a court of law in the United States would uphold this enactment as against a farmer or gardener who disregarded it, we have yet to discover him.

If the law had been enacted early in the session, there would have been opportunity to test it with the planting of this season's crop. But the citizen should remember that it concerns sales as well as production. They are getting ready at Washington to force *this* year's potatoes into government packages after the 1st of December. It is presumable that the large producers in Maine, Idaho, North Carolina and elsewhere will have held their crops of the present season in storage in the hope of high prices a few weeks hence. Meanwhile, many people are announcing that they will raise and sell potatoes next year in disregard of this enactment.

This perhaps is not a tone to be encouraged. They should be reminded that when the law takes effect, long before the acreage allotments can be worked out, the sales system must become operative; and the law can be tested by injunction proceedings as well as by the defense of government suits brought against individuals in the ordinary customs of purchase and sale.

If the absurdities of the Potato Control Act can bring about the complete overhauling of the AAA system, it will be fortunate for the future of a country that ought not to lose its head completely because Aroostook county raises too many potatoes for its own good. It was ridicule that destroyed the tyranny of NRA. We are of opinion that the American sense of humor, which has survived the sad loss of Will Rogers and the tragedy of Huey Long's taking off, will sweep away with a laugh such statutory rubbish as this potato enactment.



WORKERS

The new emphasis in work relief is on the number of men employed. Above are pictured workers on Montana's Fort Peck Dam project for control of the upper Missouri River.

AFTER THE FOUR BILLIONS?

BY RAYMOND CLAPPER

The costly failure of the "Spending-to-Recovery" dream compels New Dealers to abandon public works pump-priming and to start all over, again treating unemployment as a temporary emergency.

THIS BUSINESS of relief is cluttered over with such a façade of gingerbread work that it is difficult for the average person who is paying the bill to tell just what it is and how we can get rid of it.

To understand what is happening, one basic fact ought to be made clear: We are, essentially, right back where we started. We have tried PWA pump-priming. We poured out billions, some into huge dams in the western deserts, some into public buildings, useful but not essential; some to harness the tides in the barren, isolated Bay of Fundy, and for any number of other purposes.

Most of it was luxury spending, like the money that goes into the second family automobile. Nice to have, perhaps, but you can get along about as well without it. Our idea was that these expenditures—going for cement, construction machinery, generators, and other heavy goods—would so stimulate industry that enough private jobs would be created to absorb the unemployed.

We tried this and we tried that. Befuddled and bewildered, we experimented and hoped. We groped, bungled, backtracked, stuck our feet into some costly holes. All in vain. We still had ten million unemployed.

Now we wind up—glossing over the hard fact as best we can—realizing that the problem of unemployment remains as it was in the beginning, one of caring for those unemployed who have no other resources until they can get work in private industry. That is the reality behind the expensive façade which dresses up the works-relief program.

Officials have come to realize that about all they can do is to tide over the most desperate groups in the population until private enterprise comes to the rescue with more jobs. Now that the effort to stimulate private industry by priming it with



Secretary Ickes detests waste and asks that money be spent usefully.

government-made work has been abandoned, the whole aspect of the Administration's approach to the problem of recovery changes.

Relief spending, instead of being designed to stimulate industry, becomes a stop-gap. The corollary, only now being frankly faced by the Administration, is that the business community must be given every encouragement to go ahead. It must carry the load in the end. The Government can aid indirectly by credit policy, by trimming expenses to reduce the debt burden, by removing grounds for fears as to the future, by avoiding punitive taxation, by ending the pulling at cross-purposes which has existed between Washington and the business community.

Mr. Roosevelt appears to be moving slightly in this direction. His "breathing spell" letter to Roy W. Howard and his start in placing emergency agencies under budget control are gestures pointing that way.

Logically, this means an end of the attempt to lift the country out of its

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Harry Hopkins finds four billions too little for our 3,500,000 needy.

troubles by the government bootstrap spending method, and treating relief as a temporary emergency.

And the federal Government has set limits even on this responsibility of carrying the idle until they can be rescued by private enterprise. President Roosevelt has given orders that direct grants of federal relief money to state governors must stop on November 1. Thereafter states and local communities must care for their residents who are unemployable because of age or physical disability. As for the remainder of those on the relief rolls, estimated at some 3,500,000 able-bodied persons, the federal Government promises to continue to care for them by putting them to work.

The work at which the federal Government is placing these able-bodied relief clients is designed to do three things:

First, it is designed to maintain the morale of the unemployed, to prevent them from degenerating into a chronically idle and pauper class forever useless to themselves or to society.

Second, it is hoped that the work will be such as to preserve the skill of the individual worker, to keep the carpenter's hand in while he is waiting for the next building boom. This cannot be done in many cases, but in so far as it is possible there will be a saving of skill which otherwise would deteriorate through idleness.

Not All Waste

Third, the work is designed to be socially useful. That is a vague phrase. About all it means is that the Government will try to avoid such utterly useless activities as carrying rocks across the road and then back again. Some of the work will be of genuine economic value, some of it trivial.

For instance, 40 per cent of the farmers of the country do not live on improved roads. For them many miles of secondary roads will be improved. Some 30,000 writers, painters, musicians and actors will work. Musicians, instead of having their fingers ruined permanently by digging ditches, will be kept in practice giving concerts. Writers will prepare historical guide-books. Unemployed clerks and research workers will bring up to date the records of the Staten Island Zoological Society.

There are lists of such jobs by the yard in the office of Harry Hopkins at Washington. Some of the jobs are obviously of real value, others of little value. Practically all of them could go undone without any harm. Certainly little of this work is of sufficient importance to be worth borrowing money for. It is largely luxury work.

But it is something to have isolated the problem, and to have reduced it to its essence. We have spent two and a half years and many billions of dollars to arrive at this point. First there was the \$3,000,000,000 PWA pump-priming fund. We will get something back, Grand Coulee dam out in the western desert, for instance. The net cost is impossible to figure, but the fact remains that whatever of value results from this will be works which we did not really need. Budget Director D. W. Bell estimates that relief and recovery expenditures for the two years ended June 30, 1935, totalled \$9,500,000,000. The Congress which just adjourned appropriated about \$10,000,000,000 for all purposes. Segregation is difficult, but we have for instance the \$4,880,000,000 relief appropriation to carry us through on unemployment aid until July 1 of next year.

Though that is only a fraction of the New Deal cost, we can get some idea of the immensity of the expenditure by putting that \$4,880,000,000 against some homely comparisons. It is equal to about 17 per cent of all wages and salaries paid out last year. It is equal to about 68 per cent of the value of all farm products. It is more than twice the estimated total of dividend payments for 1934. It is almost as much as was paid in interest last year. Spent on automobiles, this sum would buy 7,360,000 low-priced cars, which it would take the industry two years and eight months to produce. The sum is equivalent to \$4.88 for every minute since the birth of Christ.

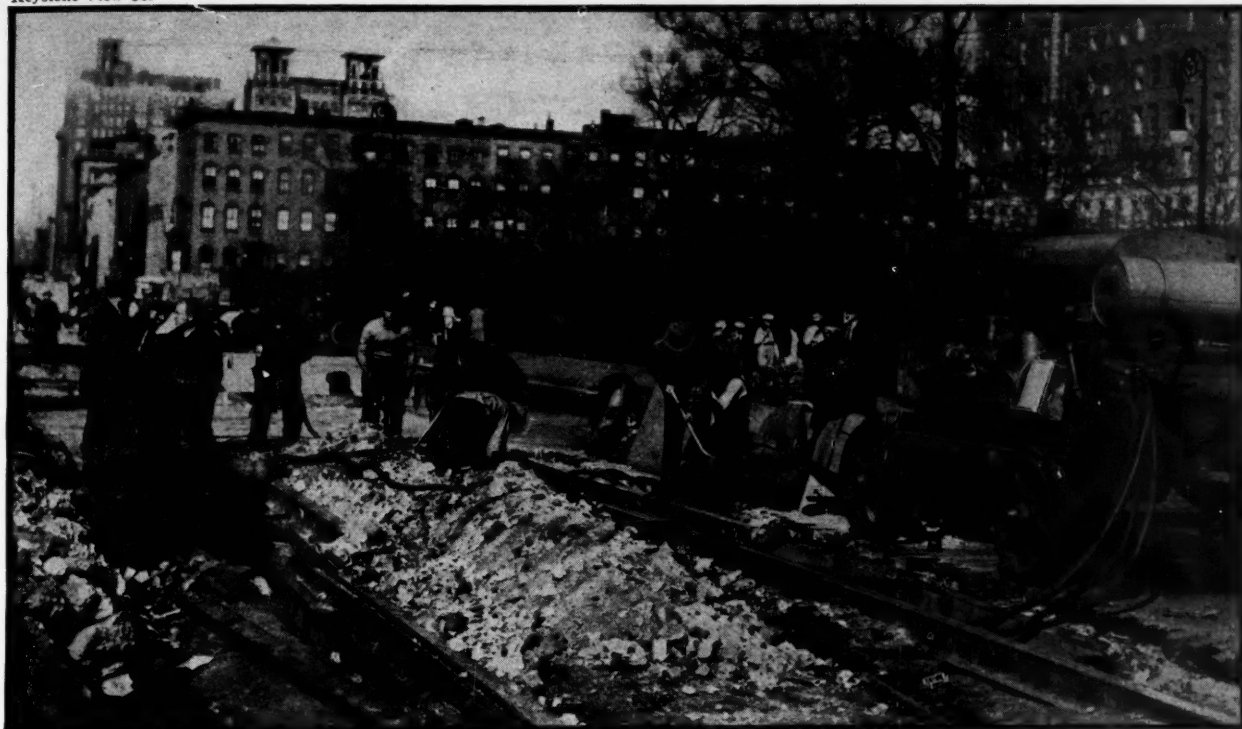
That is for just one year. Roughly it is what causes the federal deficit.

Sad Awakening

Because the Roosevelt Administration, more than any which preceded it, has professed to emphasize economic and social planning, the belated realization of the real nature of the relief and unemployment problem makes a sorrowful chapter in the history of the New Deal.

Just a year ago, the Administration began groping toward the relief program which is now becoming operative. Without any very definite plan, without having done a reliable job of arithmetic, Mr. Roosevelt went to Congress and asked for \$4,880,000,000. That was in January. No details were revealed immediately, but the impression was given that the Administration knew what it was about.

Later a plan began to be unfolded. It comprehended an elaborate personnel set-up, of interlocking boards and committees. But, boiled down, Mr. Roosevelt explained that the job was a relatively simple one. We had



MADE WORK

Removing an obsolete car track in New York City. The useful but not entirely necessary job provides unemployment relief without competing directly with private enterprises.

about 10,000,000 unemployed. Of these 3,000,000 were estimated to be unable to work because of age or physical disability. They would be turned back to the states to be cared for. Of the remaining 7,000,000 unemployed, the Government would take the 3,500,000 who were on relief and put them to work. Then each of these men on government-made work would keep one other man working back in private industry. That would absorb the other 3,500,000, and the problem would be solved.

This idea of stimulating private industry through relief work was based upon work which would use a considerable amount of materials to be supplied by private industry. But along in June, after the program had been outlined, someone began to do some elementary arithmetic. It was found that after allowing for continuing relief payments until the works program was in operation, only about \$4,000,000,000 could be counted upon. This had to provide for 3,500,000 men for a year. It divided into about \$1100 a year per man. That meant that you could not spend very much out of \$1100 for materials and still have anything left for wages.

This discovery proved the trump card for those among the President's advisers who long before had become skeptical of the pump-priming effects of heavy construction projects. So, pressed by necessity, the program was shifted. Costly undertakings—

such as public buildings, bridges, hospitals, housing, reclamation, trunk highways, and dams—were abandoned. Emphasis turned to light, hand-work, requiring a minimum of materials and a maximum of labor.

No More Money?

The alternative would have been to go back to Congress, which had appropriated the \$4,880,000,000 only after a long and stubborn fight, and ask for more money. It would have been suicidal. Thus the Administration finally worked around to its present policy, scrapping the gigantic projects of Secretary Ickes and giving the right-of-way to Harry Hopkins. The problem as seen by Hopkins is essentially as one of keeping the unemployed at some kind of useful work until they are restored to normal employment.

At the moment, the program is in process of being put into execution. Mr. Hopkins has emerged as the controlling figure. In the fall of 1933, when CWA was launched to back-stop the failure of PWA as an unemployment remedy, Mr. Hopkins put 4,000,000 men to work in thirty days. Nothing like it had ever happened before. There was waste, men were put at trivial leaf-raking jobs. There was such outcry over the waste and haste that the experiment had to be abandoned. The present attempt is similar except that the work is

being more carefully planned.

By September 1, Hopkins had 837,563 men at work, after some three months of preparatory effort. Of these, 519,000 were in the Civilian Conservation Corps, most of them regular recruits. The new program, on its own, therefore, had put some 318,000 to work. More than one third of these, 127,000, had been placed in New York City, and another 70,000 on various jobs in the government departments. Many of those included in these figures were previously at work under FERA projects, so that the initial achievements under the new program are in part merely book-keeping transfers. Hopkins' task was to put some 2,600,000 others to work between September 1 and November 1.

Already the question is arising: What shall we do after July 1, next year, when the present appropriation will be exhausted? Mr. Hopkins, up to his neck in the immediate job, has had little opportunity to give thought to that. Treasury and budget officials are beginning to look at it from the point of view of the national deficit. Critics of the Administration, both in the Democratic party and out of it, are clamoring increasingly for drastic action by the Administration to curtail the heavy spending and to head the Government back toward a balance between income and outgo.

Since the chief item in the deficit is the cost of relief, the fire is bound

(Continued on page 64)

SHOULD OHIO OFFER A TEST VOTE?

BY GEORGE H. BENDER

The Republican candidate, defeated last fall, demands a special election. Would a test vote show party change in Ohio? Governor Davey makes calm reply to a vigorous political argument.

THE OHIO political pot will boil not only through the coming weeks but until the retirement of Governor Martin L. Davey from public office. The needless feud which he waged with Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins was bruited throughout the length and breadth of the land, with all the honors going to the boys in Washington.

An effort to effect a reconciliation between official Washington and local Columbus, through a theoretical grant of some \$20,000,000 to reconstruct Ohio's penal system, proved a colossal bust, for the borrowing capacity of the state has already been fully utilized. The state administration has proved itself a sham in every direction.

Most grandiose of its strategic schemes was the appointment of a magnificently composed commission of experts, headed by Col. Sherrill of Cincinnati, to recommend economies in administration. A splendid report, with proposed savings of some \$10,-

000,000 in the half-dozen departments already analyzed, has been ignored *in toto*, leaving the state free to estimate the sincerity of the Governor's intentions.

One thing we have learned: The state is spending millions more than it need spend, and until Martin Davey's successor takes office nothing will be done to remedy this condition.

Political Dynamite?

Meanwhile, the death of Congressman Truax and the controversy over the election of a successor are quietly waiting in the Ohio Supreme Court, like a bomb neatly stored but ready for use. An action in mandamus has been filed to compel Governor Davey to designate a date for a special primary, together with another for the special election necessary to fill the vacancy, as required by the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Ohio. The court has indicated that it will sit in extra session, if necessary, to declare its ruling.

After dodging reporters, refusing to commit himself, sitting on his badly patched political fence for two weeks, Governor Davey turned up in Washington in mid-August, finally determined to issue the writs for a special election in accordance with law. But even here, a sham-battle strategy has been constantly in evidence. The Governor proclaimed his reluctance to call a special election, because it would cost the people of Ohio half a million dollars.

Under the law of the state, three general election dates are fixed from November of 1935 to November of 1936. These are the general election this fall, the general primaries held in May of each presidential year, and the presidential election of 1936. With wistful ignorance of the obvious, Davey set the date for the special

primary for May of 1936, fixing the election itself to coincide with the general presidential election of the following November.

Subtle strategy, for the specially elected Congressman-at-large would then sit only during November and December of 1936 (months when Congress presumably will not be in session) to complete the unexpired term of Congressman Truax. The utter ease with which the special primary could be held this November and the special election next May, adding no substantial cost to the burdened taxpayers of Ohio, apparently escaped the politically practiced eye of Governor Davey.

All of which was clearly not the mere whim of our local governmental moguls. The voice of Washington must have been at our Governor's ear, for the risk of a repeating of the recent Rhode Island upset is perfectly clear.

The long-awaited business recovery has not manifested itself. Most



Martin L. Davey, Democratic Governor, who sees no need for haste.



George H. Bender, Republican aspirant for Congressman-at-Large.

business leaders in the state feel disposed to attribute any slight upturn to events in the business world far removed from the influences of bureaucratic Washington. The relief rolls in the largest county (Cuyahoga, including Cleveland) have been registering a slight increase in 1935 over 1934, and the number of unemployed has remained discouragingly constant. The WPA has made no substantial movement in Ohio, and social service agencies are paralyzed with fear of the federal Government's threat to cease all direct relief in November.

Rural Distress

Rural regions find themselves in their age-old predicament. They cannot support the burden of their growing numbers of dependents. Their schools are financed by the contributions of industrial counties, themselves severely taxed. Old-age pension payments have temporarily ceased, and two special legislative sessions are planned to consider the state's assumption of the relief burden.

An election at this time would decidedly not be to FDR's liking for these reasons. Any Democrat tagged to Martin L. Davey will be bitterly opposed by countless Democratic groups, disgusted with the spectacle of a state without any program of intelligent taxation, rural rehabilitation, relief administration, or business recovery. At the same time any Democrat running without the blessing of the state organization will likewise be soundly whipped.

The Republican party has no need for ponderous meditation to discover its platform. It need refer only to the demands of business, agriculture, and labor to find one ready made. The extension of bureaucracy must be opposed by every citizen cognizant of its ultimate results. The Democratic party's efforts at reform no conscientious citizen will disavow. But the misguided, naïve, and unfriendly steps taken in a so-called effort to induce the recovery of business even most Democrats will repudiate. Vast expenditures from unknown funds cannot be tolerated in a government basing its revenues on taxation which necessarily weighs more heavily upon the poor than upon the moderately wealthy or rich. We must seek a definite date by which time our budget is to be balanced.

This is the platform on which all Republicans must seek office today. It is this platform which honest citizens, probing the history of the decay of democracy, must unhesitatingly endorse.

GOVERNOR DAVEY STATES THE CASE

State of Ohio
Office of the Governor
Columbus, Ohio

September 11, 1935

MY DEAR MR. SHAW:

Thank you for the invitation to state my position relative to the Congressional election.

To call a special election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Congressman Truax would cost the taxpayers of Ohio between \$500,000 and \$600,000. The burden would fall not only on the state government but also on the various local sub-divisions. Many of these sub-divisions are on the verge of bankruptcy now, and are petitioning the state for desperately needed relief.

Mr. Truax was one of two Congressmen elected at large by the people of Ohio. His untimely death still leaves our citizens represented by a Congressman-at-large.

The Congress is so overwhelmingly Democratic that the loss of one seat is of little actual consequence from a political standpoint.

The only demand for a special election at this time, which was called to my attention, came from a Republican politician in Cleveland who was defeated in the last Congressional campaign. Practically everybody else urged me to save the state money by postponing the election until next year.

Some Republicans have tried to muddy the waters because Congressman Truax's sudden death took place right at the time Ohio was asking the federal Government for a \$20,000,000 grant with which to modernize its welfare institutions. This grant was made, the Republicans contend, in return for my refusal to call a special election at this time.

I will admit quite candidly that the Republican charge would look good if it were not for two very pertinent facts: First, my decision to postpone the election was made *before* I left Columbus to see the President about the grant. Second, the preliminary application for the grant was made by me in a telephone conversation with the President three days *before* the unexpected death of Congressman Truax.

Personally, I would like to accommodate our Republican friends by conducting a test of the New Deal strength today. I am confident that the overwhelming majority of the people of Ohio are solidly behind President Roosevelt and his program.

Granting that the result of a test vote in this pivotal state would be interesting, I do not feel that Ohio, now struggling to find funds to finance its old-age pensions and relief program, can afford to spend more than half a million dollars for something that is not absolutely necessary.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN L. DAVEY, Governor.

Ohio has always been a pivotal point in national politics, situated as it is with its cities facing east and its rural areas facing west. An election not dominated by national figures would diminish the Democratic majority in the House by one; but it would point to the speedy loss of

control by the sons of the rampant donkey.

It is cowardice and a demonstration of unfair politics which prompt the current controversy. Let the Democratic party honestly present the issues. The men and women of Ohio will make the historic decision.

OUR NEW SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

BY HENRY E. JACKSON

A life wage for workers who retire at sixty-five and a measure of compensation for the jobless—these are now law of the land. But that law should be made more workable in some details.

ONE NO LONGER debates the desirability or necessity of achieving the conquest of insecurity. Both are now obvious and admitted. What concerns us is not whether the Government *should* have adopted a social security act. It *has* adopted one; and we may assume that the act of Congress represents the opinion of the nation.

The Social Security Act, approved by the President on August 14, 1935, is a starting point—freely admitted, by proponents and opponents, to be defective. I shall note what I regard as some basic defects, but I do so in no spirit of hostile criticism; rather for the purpose of assisting to save the program from possible wreckage, and to make it financially more feasi-

ble and more useful for its intended purpose.

The Social Security Act marks a notable new stage in our economic and political evolution, and the whole nation, including industry, is indebted to Franklin Roosevelt for inaugurating it. We observe first its conspicuous merits.

It is the dominant opinion of the nation that employees—that is, persons working for wages—should have protection, as a right and not as charity, against the major hazards of industry, and that such protection is likewise advantageous to employers.

Economic justification of a scientific retirement plan is that it enables an employer to eliminate superannuation from his plant, and there-

by save himself money without doing his employees an injustice. This principle is confirmed by the fact that a large number of such plans have been adopted without compulsory legislation. The Act merely aims to make universal a practice which many intelligent employers had already discovered to be profitable.

It gives governmental confirmation to the practical soundness of the annuity principle. True, some employers maintain that this is wholly wrong, and that the right policy is to stimulate John Doe to be thrifty and to build up an investment fund so that he can have an income in time of need. I am convinced that this proposal contains a basic fallacy and is unworkable.

Ewing Galloway



JOBLESS

Our new federal law encourages the states to pass unemployment-wage legislation as a proper charge against business. Bread lines in our great cities, in hard times, would be shorter.



OLD AGE

Uncle Sam hereafter pays half the cost of pensions for the aged. Better yet, he looks ahead to a retirement wage for workers, from contributions by employer and employee in unison.

A few men may build up sufficient capital to live on the interest from it without serious damage to the public. But what we seek is a rule of practice which all men can follow. The average man has not sufficient self-control to do it, nor sufficient margin of wages. Besides, there is not enough money in existence to enable all men to set up a capital reserve. And even if there were, it could not be so used without serious damage. To use only the interest on such capital funds requires investment in capital goods—that is, more factories to produce more goods. But this is one of the chief causes of our depression cycles. Therefore this capital-fund method of securing economic independence, generally applied, would be an aggravation of our problem rather than any sort of a good solution.

With the annuity method, both principal and interest are used up by the time the average man dies. Yet he is guaranteed that the income benefit will not cease while he lives. Moreover, both principal and interest are automatically used to buy consumer's goods, which is as it should be. This fact points to a third con-

spicuous merit of the Security Act; namely, that the distribution of benefits under industrial protection plans is not only just on its own account, but is an effective way to create and maintain mass buying power when it is most needed to keep our industrial machinery in operation, and that is advantageous to employers as well as to employees.

Let's Improve It!

For these reasons, it is as a convinced and devoted friend of the social security program that I point out serious defects and suggest remedies. To reject the law entirely on account of its defects, even if they are serious, would be like throwing out the baby with the bath. Our task is to throw out the bath but save the baby. And lest damage be done to the baby the act should be revised by its friends rather than by its enemies.

We here limit ourselves to the chief and permanent features of the law, which cover protection plans against two major hazards of organized industry—old age and unemployment. The act is an omnibus measure and includes poor-relief measures in co-

operation with the states. These provisions ought not to have been in the same bill, because they are organized on a wholly different principle, on different methods of financing, and on different methods of administration. They do involve possible danger from the increase in Government pensions for political reasons, but nevertheless they were necessary and need cause us no serious concern, provided we regard them as temporary and adopt preventive measures which will progressively eliminate the need for poor relief.

The two main provisions of the Social Security Act are old age pensions and unemployment insurance in industry. One provides for a wage-earner's retirement in old age, with his retirement wage paid, so long as he lives, from a fund to which he and his employer both have contributed regularly through the years. The other provides for a temporary stipend during periods of unemployment, from a fund to which only the employer has contributed.

The words "pensions" and "insurance" are misnomers and misrepresent the facts. On the employer's part the retirement pay is not a pen-

sion or dole, but a deferred wage in the form of an annuity. On the part of an employee, it is the purchase of an annuity for himself. The word "insurance" is a misnomer because unemployment is not insurable.

Who Pays?

The cost of the retirement benefit is met by a tax on both employers and employees. Beginning January 1, 1937, and continuing for three years, an excise tax is imposed on employers equal to 1 per cent of the total payroll. During the next three years the tax rate is 1½ per cent; during the third three years 2 per cent; the fourth three-year period 2½ per cent, and 3 per cent beginning with 1949. A similar tax is imposed on employees, and the employer is made liable for its collection.

The cost of the unemployment benefit is met by a tax on employers only. Beginning January 1, 1936, the tax is imposed on total payrolls, whether or not all employees are subject to the hazard or receive any benefit from the fund; 1 per cent for the first year; 2 per cent for the second year; and 3 per cent for the third year and thereafter. Against this tax an employer may credit 90 per cent of a contribution he has made to a state unemployment fund, if a state in which he employs persons adopts a law that is approved by the federal Government.

Thus the permanent cost to industry for these two protections is 9 per cent of total payrolls, 6 per cent from employers and 3 per cent from employees. If any employee has not enough margin in wages to enable him to pay the tax, his employer will have to pay it or else increase wages. In any case the whole tax is a charge against the production costs or profits of industry. There is no other source from which it can come. Depreciation of human machinery is a charge against production costs.

The provisions and schedule of benefits offered under the annuity plan (except to employees in federal and state governments, in agriculture, in domestic service, and in public service organizations operated not for profit) are as follows:

1. To be eligible, an employee must (a) be at least 65 years old; (b) total wages paid to him after December 31, 1936, and before age of 65 must be \$2000 or more; (c) he must have received wages on five days prior to age 65, each day being in a different calendar year.

2. Wages up to, but not exceeding, \$3000 in any one calendar year are counted as a basis for retirement credit.

3. Every eligible employee shall receive at age of 65, or on January 1,

1942, which ever is later, an old age benefit as follows:

(a) If total wages were not more than \$3000, his benefit shall be at a monthly rate of ½ of 1 per cent of such total wages.

(b) If his total wages were more than \$3000, his benefit shall be at a monthly rate equal to the sum of the following: ½ of 1 per cent of \$3000, plus 1/12 of 1 per cent of the amount by which such total wages exceeded \$3000 and did not exceed \$45,000, plus 1/24 of 1 per cent of the amount by which such total wages exceeded \$45,000.

(c) In no case shall the monthly rate exceed \$85.

4. If any individual dies before age 65, there shall be paid to his estate an amount equal to 3½ per cent of his total wages after December 31, 1936.

5. If after age 65 an employee dies before receiving benefits equal to 3½ per cent of wages received since December 31, 1936, then the difference between the amount received and the 3½ per cent shall be paid to his estate.

6. If a pensioner after age 65 receives wages from any regular employment, benefit shall be reduced by an amount equal to one month's stipulated benefit, and this shall be repeated for each month in which such regular employment occurs.

A Retirement Wage

The following are illustrative of the monthly annuities at age 65 payable under the Security Act:

Years of Contribution	Based on \$1,200	Average Yearly Wage of \$2,400	Wage of \$3,000*
5	\$17.50	\$22.50	\$25.00
10	22.50	32.50	37.50
20	32.50	51.25	56.25
30	42.50	61.25	68.75
40	51.25	71.25	81.25

*Maximum

The plan is significant for what it omits. No benefit is due for any past years of service to the credit of employees, as of the start of the plan. No benefit is provided for employees 60 years of age or over as of January, 1937. No benefit is provided for employees now receiving pensions under privately operated plans.

It will be observed that the plan covers only two of the major hazards of industry, whereas there are four such hazards: death, disability, dependence in old age, and involuntary unemployment. It is little realized as yet that all four of these hazards are just phases of the one problem of unemployment, and are organically and financially related to each other. All, therefore, ought to be covered in a social security program.

Defects and deficiencies can often be corrected by amendments. For example, the unemployment insurance applies to employers of eight or

more persons. Whatever number may be deemed wise and safe for self-operating plans covering all four hazards, it can be raised or lowered. The tax also can be raised or lowered, and the schedule of benefits, as experience indicates.

Uncle Sam Is Needed

But in my opinion there is a basic defect in structure which can be remedied only by revision. Hitherto we have relied on industry to operate protection plans voluntarily. Many have done so. But there have not been enough plans or the right type of plans to meet the obvious need. Those who would let business do it, without any interference of government, are impractical idealists. There does not exist any such unit as "business" organized to secure the operation of a standard practice. Only one agency can achieve it; that is the Government. The only question is what ought it to do.

It has now gone to the opposite extreme from uncontrolled freedom. The Security Act proposes to take over, and own and operate, all the industrial annuity plans in the nation. I regard this as a basic and serious defect. It violates our democratic principle, and it is inefficient.

The function of the Government should be limited to requiring minimum standards, to secure concerted action in the whole. But industries should be permitted to own and operate their own plans, to preserve freedom in the parts. This is the principle we use successfully in the political field. It is our true guide in the attempt to apply democracy in the industrial field.

If the plan is reconstructed on this principle, it would prevent needless expense in administration. It would also distribute the cost fairly. The cost of the same schedule of benefits will vary considerably among different industries. Each should bear only the cost which properly belongs to it as an operating expense. For the same reason there ought to be, within specified limits, some flexibility in standards required, because of the marked variation of need among industries.

But reduced costs are not the only advantage of self-operated plans. Joint operation by employers and employees can also be utilized as an efficient means for progressively decreasing the civil war now prevalent in industry. War is always an expensive luxury.

In its provisions for unemployment protection the Act provides no schedule of benefits, leaving that for each state to determine. Ostensibly this was in deference to state rights. It

(Continued on page 62)

THIRD Here is the communist Third International in session at Moscow, seated before huge poster pictures of Karl Marx, Fritz Engels, V. I. Lenin, and Joe Stalin, prophets. Posters are in four languages.



Sovfoto

AT MOSCOW—RED TO PINK

BY ROGER SHAW

Gone are the good old Muscovite days when reds were red and pinks were damned as softies. Now Russia is going bourgeois, like revolutionary France under the moderate Directory of 1795.

FIFTEEN YEARS ago, way back in 1920, the reds of the world were very red indeed. Today they have faded to a pale pink, as do all radical revolutionaries sooner or later. For the first time since 1928, the communist Third International has met in solemn conclave at Moscow, in the great Hall of Trade Unions. Some 400 delegates from 50 countries were present at this seventh world congress, with American reds conspicuously in attendance and German reds-without-a-home making spirited fight talks.

Beneath the surface, the twin key-notes were defensive compromise and discouragement.

The Third International was founded in 1919 as a proletarian league of nations. It was the successor of the First International, founded by Karl Marx at London in 1864, and of the Second International, which was broken up by the World War in 1914. The Third International was originally designed to combat the "capitalistic" League of Nations at Geneva, and reds intended that

Berlin should be their mecca. Germany, however, failed to go communist after the war, and the Third International settled safely down in red Moscow.

Today there are 3 million dues-paying communist party members in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and only about 200,000 more in the outside world. The number of party members, outside of Russia, has declined by approximately 80 per cent in the last dozen years. The great depression seems to have af-

fected communists as well as hard-pressed capitalists.

There are now approximately 30,000 communists in the United States. France and Czechoslovakia have roughly 20,000 apiece, England less than 2,000. In Norway a semi-communist radical party is in office, and good-sized sections of red China are occupied transitionally by communist armies of fealike agility. Dutch Amsterdam and certain sections of Hispanic America, especially Mexico, Uruguay, and Chile, contain some active reds. But in Germany, Austria, Italy, Japan, the Balkan and Baltic countries, communists have been outlawed and driven underground—sometimes a dangerous, even if showy, procedure.

America Represented

At the seventh congress, in Moscow, Earl Browder and William Foster, American communist leaders, were promptly elected to the guiding praesidium committee of 42 persons. Foster, a New England Yankee, has run as red candidate for the presidency of the United States. Browder hails from Kansas, and has been active as party spokesman and organizer of ability. Dictator Josef Stalin of Russia also was chosen to the praesidium; as was a famous Bulgarian, George Dimitroff. He was acquitted by the German supreme court in the Reichstag fire trial of 1933, despite the heated protests of red-eating General Hermann Goering. German Torgler, Dutch Van der Lubbe, and two other Bulgarians were also on trial at the time, as fiendish red incendiaries. Van der Lubbe was beheaded, Torgler jailed.

Ever since its foundation after the war, the Third International has made war on bourgeois democracy

as the insidious tool of capitalism. Communists considered that liberals were as wicked as czars, and railed against everyone except their own simon-pure Marxian clique. They preached the doctrine of world revolution, and tried to put it into practice through propaganda and (as in China in 1926) by military assistance. Capitalists were their arch-enemies, no matter how tolerant, benevolent, or pacific these "exploiters" might be. Even a garage-owner or shopkeeper was a capitalistic enemy of the red proletariat. The League of Nations, they said, was as wickedly imperialistic as the World War itself. For communists, there was no compromise possible—only perpetual revolution.

The year 1920 was a high-point for the reds. Hungary, under Bela Kun, and Bavaria, under Kurt Eisner, had for the time being turned communist. The Russian red army was advancing on Polish Warsaw, key to Central Europe, and everything looked rosy. The German communist party had 400,000 dues-paying members—more than the Russians themselves had—and communists formed the largest group in the Czechoslovak parliament. Italian socialists, with Third International connections, scored 40 per cent of the votes in a general election, polling no less than 3 million. In Turin and Milan, workmen were taking over the factories, textile and automotive. Italy had 200,000 partisans in affiliation with the Third International, while Norway and Jugoslavia had roughly 100,000 each. From England the Independent Labor party looked to Moscow, and Oriental nationalists regarded the new Third Internationalism as a convenient weapon against colonial exploitation by Europe. The United States experi-

enced a severe, if comparatively unfounded, red scare which resembled the witch panic of seventeenth-century Salem.

Then the tide turned. At Warsaw the late Marshal Pilsudski, assisted by French generals and tanks, defeated the much abler red General Tukachevski by a miracle. Central Europe was spared, and the red waters began to recede, their recession accelerating from year to year. Communism became less and less militant. Now it is on the defensive. Today reds are terrified of fascists.

The communist party congress has actually urged visiting delegations to support bourgeois democratic regimes when shaky. Once capitalistic democracy was detested and denounced by the reds. Today it looks wonderful to them as compared to fascism such as that which swept Italy in 1922 and Germany in 1933. Formerly reds prided themselves on their anti-capitalism and non-coöperation; now they speak only of anti-fascism and the necessity for coöperation.

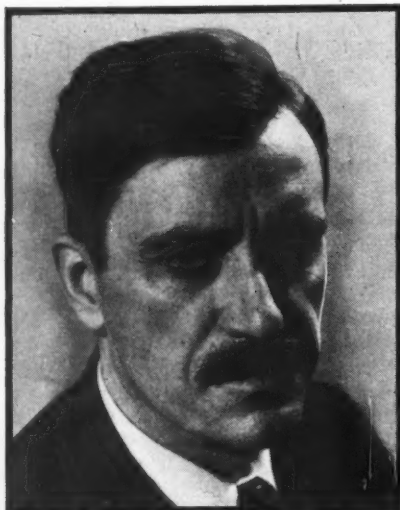
Freedom of Speech

Nevertheless, the United States, England, Italy, Poland, and Latvia have protested to the Russian government against certain reckless utterances made by red congressional delegates, utterances made for the most part by their own citizens in attendance. But the Russian government denies all responsibility for the Third International, which is guaranteed freedom of speech within Russia and is in no sense a Russian organism. It is, of course, hard to tell where Russia begins and the interlocking Third International leaves off. The changed attitude of both annoys conservatives almost as did the erstwhile red blood-and-thunder. Meanwhile, a few communists of the lunatic fringe—chiefly Americans—continue to pay lip-service to defunct communist ideals. Hence the stir in our U. S. state department.

Russia in 1934 joined the bourgeois League of Nations and now plays a prominent part in its councils, although Lenin once called it a den of thieves, while the Third International has always been its foe. Then Russia made an alliance with capitalistic France, a communist state with a democracy, against the brown threat of Hitler's fascism in Germany. Coöperation with the once-hated bourgeois; but anything is better than a fascist, for bourgeois use money-bags and facists use bayonets.

The best example of coöperation is in France herself. Here the red communists have formed a united popular front with the moderate so-

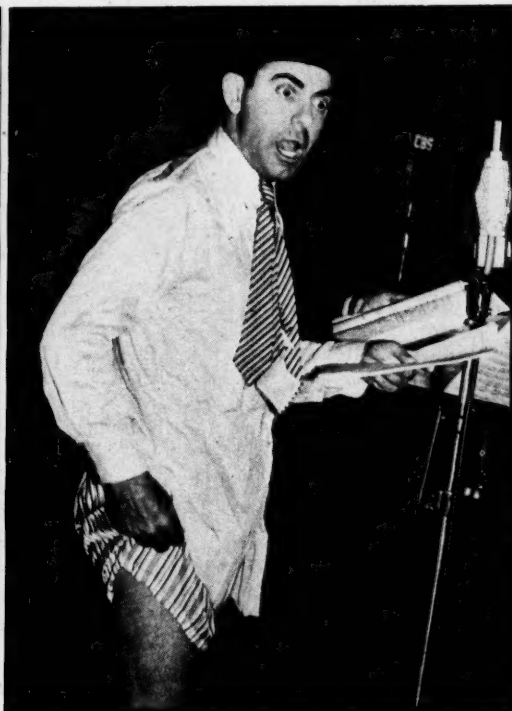
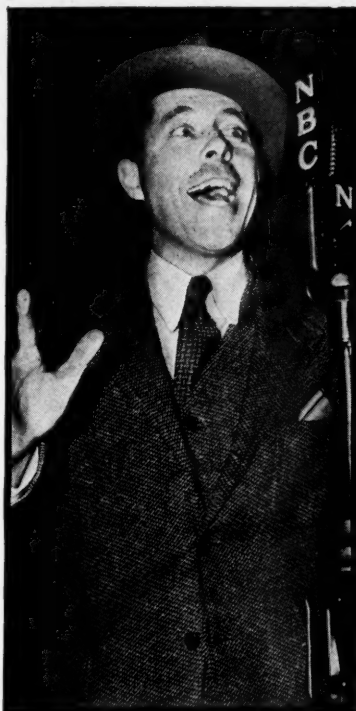
(Continued on page 57)



YANKS

These are Earl Browder of Kansas (left) and W. Z. Foster of Massachusetts, American delegates to the Moscow congress.

Joe Cook, Eddie Cantor, and Beatrice Lillie making merry on the air.



WANT A GOOD JOB?—WRITE JOKES!

BY BENN HALL

Eddie Cantor and Ed Wynn receive—or ask—\$10,000 for being funny one hour each week. But a comedian's success depends largely upon gag writers, who find new jokes and repolish old.

THERE IS one lucrative industry that the vocational guidance people and the census-taker forget to list. Its practitioners make \$200 to \$1,000 (or more) weekly. Fifteen or twenty men dominate the business. But there can be no mad scramble for application blanks, and no correspondence courses teach the art.

This business is the very serious undertaking of making funny men funny. Gag writing, it is called. The gag writers produce those funny lines which comedians recite, causing you to laugh or to turn off the radio.

About 100,000 gags are written each year for radio. Movies and what is left of vaudeville also use a large number. The comedian himself makes from a paltry few hundred dollars to as high as \$10,000 weekly.

It has been estimated that a weekly hour program uses 1,500 gags a year. Possibly 25,000 are considered. A "spot" in a radio program may consist of several jokes, and it will last from 2½ to 6 minutes. There are usually two or three such "spots" or "bits" in a half-hour program and three to six in an hour program.

It may seem alarming that Americans require a radio diet so rich in comedy. But there is reason. One may take into consideration the fact that entertainment fads go in cycles, and that radio is quick to imitate; but the real reason for such a large dose of radio comedy is Depression. We try to escape from mental and physical suffering during lean years. Radio is the nearest—and cheapest—entertainment. Therefore it becomes

radio's plain duty to enable us to enjoy ourselves, to escape from painful reality.

Possibly historians will look upon the 1930s as the period of "radio humor". The demand for comedy is almost in inverse ratio to the depression graph. Unfortunately, the well of humor is not deep and often runs dry.

A few serious men of letters and science have made attempts at literary and scientific and psychological analyses of humor, but the field is quite virgin. General deductions are difficult to make. Humor is universal, though more highly developed among civilized races.

It is quite unnecessary to consult Freud or any of the newer-day psychologists to realize that our laughter

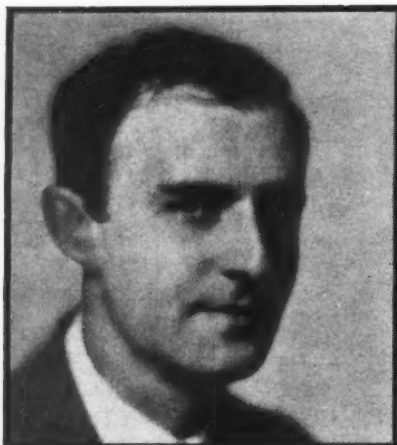
at seeing the underdog best the bully can often be personal. We see ourselves beat a stronger person.

The unusual is funny to the uninitiated or unlearned. Foreign languages and strange dishes are funny to many who display limited mentalities by laughing at what they do not understand.

Laugh It Off

Laughter also is a defense mechanism. It is easier to laugh—or sneer—than to understand or appreciate. How many great scientists were scoffed and jeered by their own generation, which did not understand their principles and inventions!

Best-known among the hidden profession of gag-writers are David Freedman, who writes or has written the lines for Eddie Cantor, Burns and Allen, Block and Sully, and other funmakers; Harry Conn, who does the writing chores for Jack Benny; Billy K. Wells, who writes for Jack Pearl; Sam Carlton, who works with Joe Penner; Harry Tugend, Doc



David Freedman, most successful of gag-men, has a staff of assistants.



Some of Fred Allen's risibles may be blamed on alert Harry Tugend.

Rockwell, Harry C. Green, and Eugene Conrad.

All gag writers have their individual methods—much as any group of writers, playwrights, fictioneers, columnists, and writers for the “pulp”. But their chief stock-in-trade is a card index of jokes and situations. A reference library is an important part of the funny business.

David Freedman is probably the most successful of the gag men. He works with several assistants in a three-floor penthouse on Central Park West in New York. He has 75,000 jokes, carefully carded by subject, and 2,000 books. Radio, Freedman says, is in an evolutionary stage—like an unborn human child. We have passed through the old-fashioned “give and take” vaudeville technique, the minstrel phase, and we are going through the movie and stage periods. Gradually and slowly radio humor is acquiring a form and individuality of its own.

“There is much talk of basic jokes and formulas for gag writing,” Freedman told me. He was seated at his business-like desk.

“There is much talk of basic jokes,” he continued. “They are closely related and interwoven, but essentially they form the basic pattern of humor.”

These are the seven:

1. Literal English (puns)

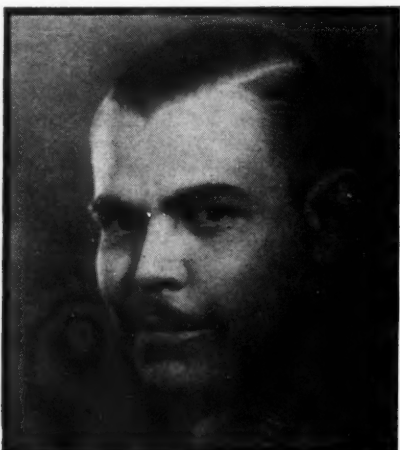
The “straight man” remarks: “You can eat dirt cheap at that restaurant.”

“But,” replies the comedian, “I don’t like dirt.”

Fairly elementary, that one usually gets from a snicker to a chuckle. Most of the “dumb” gags are in this category. Here is another:

Boy Friend: “You’re so dumb you think a football coach has four wheels.”

Sweet Young Thing: “Well, how many has it?”



Eugene Conrad calls himself “the other mind” of smart comedians.

2. Insult

True wit is essential for this type. It is fairly common, but must be carefully handled. It should sting, but not with death-dealing poison. It can be obvious and coarse, or highly subtle and sharp.

“How many hairs on a pig’s face?” asks the eternal questioner.

“Count ‘em the next time you shave,” is the retort.

3. Sex

Infidelity is the most widely used topic. It must be delicately handled, and is not often used in radio, where there is rigorous self-censorship. No “dirt jokes” go out over air waves.

4. Domestic

The domestic joke is often the joke of the cynic. It differs from the sex joke in that the mystery and romantic angles are lacking. It faces facts. The domestic joke may be the gag of the disillusioned realist. Have you heard of the husband who returned home (before these automatic-refrigerator days) to find his wife kissing the iceman? He frothed and fumed. “Why,” he bellowed, “do you kiss the iceman? We owe the butcher more!”

The mother-in-law joke is included in this pigeon-hole.

5. Underdog (or children and weaklings)

Often naive. The story of the worm turning is often illustrated in this type joke when it concerns adults. Or the lucky accident. You may recall scenes in Chaplin and Lloyd films, when the weakling-hero unknowingly bests the bully. With a mop over his shoulder, the quavering hero would be called by his bully-boss. Turning suddenly to obey, he would knock the boss over with the business end of the mop.

6. Incongruity

A refined, frail professor using language befitting a longshoreman. Or a tough “pug” or sailor using soft-spoken, high-falutin’ terms.

7. Topical

Any type joke brought up-to-date. Many stories on the front page of the daily newspaper furnish opportunity to use this device, and it is almost always sure-fire when fresh. Will Rogers was topical but in a different sense. His humor was far more personal and opinionated than his comic-contemporaries.

Gag writers use picturesque terms to describe various laughs produced by their jokes. An extra large belly laugh is referred to as a yok-cha-de-



REHEARSAL Putting over the jokes is the work of the comedians. Here, Fred Allen labors with his cast to get the most out of a script. Portland Hoffa failed to face the camera in this shot.

bokcha. A regular light laugh is called a lighty. A soft laugh or titter is termed a titta-ma-titter, and is often discarded at rehearsals.

"Twisting" a joke is the device that makes the large number of jokes possible. Let us take the hoary yarn of the farmer who heard prowling in his chicken run. Shotgun in hand, he demanded: "Who's there?" The voice of a frightened Negro replied: "Ain't nobody here, boss, 'cept us chickens."

Say a sex joke is wanted. We use the same basic form. The husband comes home unexpectedly. (What would gagsters do if husbands wore bells around their necks?) He sees a closet door close hastily. His wife is flustered. Husband takes a gun from the bureau drawer, approaches the closet, and roars: "Who's in that closet?" The voice from the closet replies: "Why, nobody, but us laundry!"

Or another "twist". The unfaithful wife and lover are seen by the six-year-old child. Lover hides in closet. Mother tells the child that there is a boggy man in the closet and not to open it. Daddy comes home and Junior tells him of the incident. Father is properly infuriated. He upbraids his wife. He wants no child of his frightened with tales of boggy men!

The twist is this. One is caught in an act, and offers a lame excuse. One is cheated, and gives the unexpected reply.

Gag-writing is not, of course, as mechanical as this outline may indi-

cate. The comedian injects his personality or dialogue into it. The same joke told by Jack Pearl in a Dutch comic dialect would differ from the more sophisticated rendering by Fred Allen or Jack Benny. The comedian has his own style, mannerisms, delivery, and type. A Cantor is smart. A Sully is dumb.

Sensitive Souls

The question of censorship looms large in the writing of radio gags. The lines must not offend Irish motormen, Swedish masseurs, American riveters, Seventh Day Adventists, German beer-garden barons, or the maiden aunt of the second assistant vice-president who doesn't approve of the reading of Sunday papers. The possible sensitivities of a possible listener who may be a Polish-Armenian choir-singer, an old-fashioned ax-killer, a Wall Street banker, a Chinese-Mexican opium peddler, the Hindu proprietor of a Bowery barber college must be kept in mind. The rule is: "Nothing shall offend."

Radio audiences are not large, mixed gatherings, as theater audiences are. They are small, intimate groups—members of the same family or close friends. They take the radio humor personally. They cannot be insulted in their own homes—and they'll have you know it. They may not patronize the program's sponsor if his program offends.

It is interesting to note that most of the comedians who come from other theatrical fields—vaudeville,

burlesque, or musical comedy—depend on regular gag writers. But the all-too-few people developed by radio—including Stoopnagle and Budd, Raymond Knight and a few others—write most of their own material. Perhaps it is the fact that they were nourished in the nursery of the kilocycles, and grew up in the bedlam of radio, that makes it possible for them to keep up with the demands of radio and understand its technique.

One of the most unpleasant remarks that can be made to a comedian or gag-writer is that his jokes come from "Joe Miller's". Mr. Miller would have ample cause to sue for libel, if he were alive. Unfortunately he is not. He was a well-known English comedian of the early eighteenth century. After his death, nearly two hundred years ago, some ne'er-do-well got together a motley collection of wheezes which was attributed to the defenseless Miller, who was not at all a funny fellow off the stage. The book was reprinted. One edition, published about a century ago, contained such gems as these, picked at random:

Joke No. 389. A forward young lady was walking one morning on the Steyne, at Brighton, when she encountered a facetious friend. "You see, Mr. Debenham," said she, "I am come out to get a little sun and air." "I think, madame, you had better get a little husband first," was the reply.

Joke No. 410. A gentleman who did not live very happy with his wife, (Continued on page 61)

THE CAMERA FINDS NEW USES

BY JAKE ZEITLIN AND CHARLES S. DUNNING

Micro-photography makes rare volumes common, and brings research material to your door. It reproduces newspapers in miniature on film or cards, saving storage space. The cost is low.

MAN'S SYSTEM of recording his ecstasies, ponderings, achievements, and dreams is about to undergo a revolution comparable to that which followed the invention of movable type. This at least is the opinion of those who have watched the recent development of micro-photography.

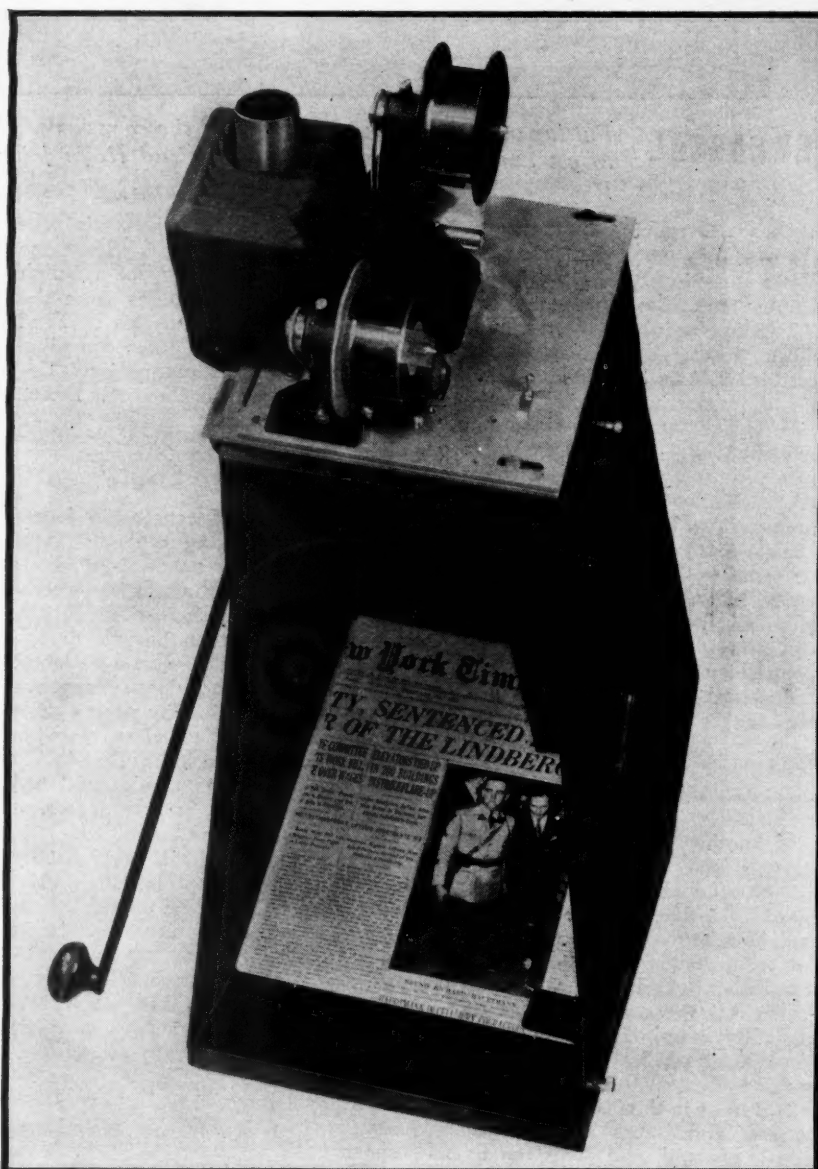
Books for popular use will continue to be printed, but there are indications that virtually all reference libraries will consist of material photographed in miniature. Cheap film reproductive processes make the rarest manuscripts available to all institutions, and greatly increase their resources with no enlargement of storage space. Two methods are used.

One method, developed principally by various lens and camera companies, records a volume page by page, in reduced size, on a motion-picture film. When the "book" is read this film is projected, enlarged, onto a light-absorbing opaque plate.

The other method, developed by Dr. L. Bendikson of the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, prints forty to fifty reduced page-photographs (from similar films) on a 5 x 8 filing card. In reading, one uses a low-powered binocular microscope, with eye-pieces tilted at a comfortable reading angle, that magnifies to usual size.

Both methods are under consideration by a large group of important libraries whose coöperation is necessary to make their use practicable.

The first apparent advantage, to libraries, of micro-photography is a vast saving in storage space occupied by seldom-used material. Using Dr. Bendikson's card method, developed during the past three years, more than 4,000 volumes of 300 pages each could be stored in the usual four-unit filing cabinet. Storage of film would occupy even less space.



MOVIE

Films replace old newspaper files and give rare books wide distribution. Readers turn, not pages, but a machine crank.

Space-saving advantages are even more apparent when the problem of storing newspapers is considered. Since 1885, when wood-pulp paper first came into use, deterioration also has been a problem. Dr. Bendikson has filed three months' issues of a metropolitan daily in one card-filing tray, a stack originally weighing 65 pounds and measuring 22 x 18 inches, 20 inches high. The cards will not deteriorate.

The cost of reproduction was less than that of binding.

A number of the country's metropolitan newspapers, including the New York Herald Tribune, are keeping their files on acetate (non-inflammable) film. Reproduction costs them about 1 1/5 cents a page, with duplicates 3/5 of a cent. A reel of 100 feet carries about 850 pages and occupies a space 1 1/2 x 3 3/4 x 3 3/4 inches.

Comparative Permanence

The Herald Tribune, Buffalo Courier-Express, Detroit News, Chicago News, Chicago Times, and Cleveland News send Recordak two copies a day, and once a month they get film copies. The New York Times since 1927 has printed a rag-paper edition, at \$170 a year, and thus is insured of comparative permanence without photography.

Projectors show a quarter-page at a time on a horizontal screen, protected from surrounding light by a three-sided cabinet. The reading image is enlarged to one and a half times the original size, making three-inch columns out of two-inch. A crank at the side turns pages very rapidly or very slowly.

Just as the invention of printing placed books in the hands of the poor, so it is anticipated that microphotography will take rare and expensive books out of the exclusive possession of richly endowed libraries and put them into the hands of every scholar who has use for them. Oriental manuscripts, immured in European museums and impossible to reproduce except at tremendous expense, will be in the hands of every scholar who wants them. Even now it is possible to obtain film-copies of anything in any French library at six cents a page.

Coöperation of twenty to thirty libraries will bring photographic reduction costs to a minimum. Ten institutions could economically exchange micro-prints and fill gaps in their material. Source material, for instance, now available only in the Huntington Library in California could be made available to Atlantic coast scholars. Material in the Widener Library at Philadelphia or in the Library of Congress could be

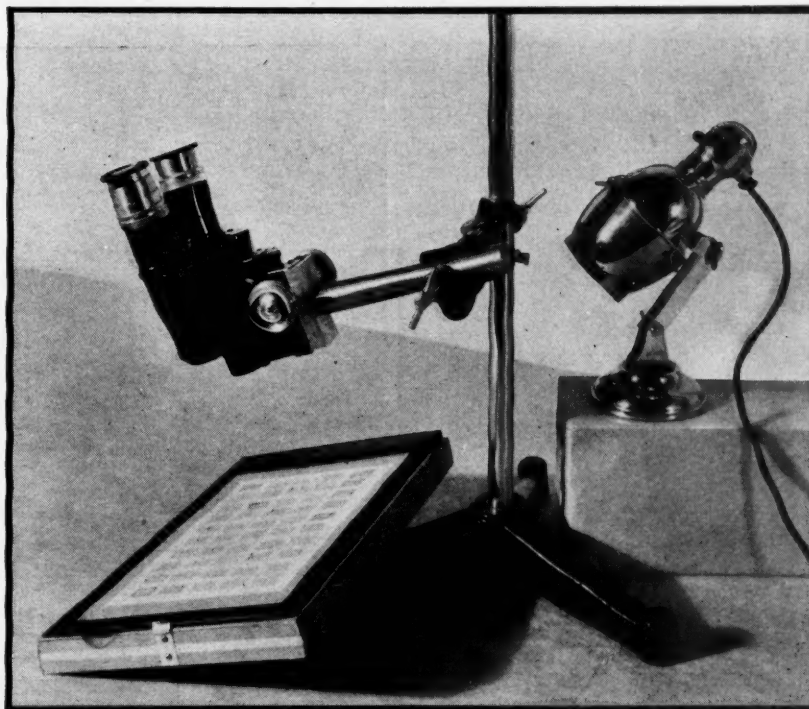
available to scholars at the Huntington. Research workers would not have to travel extensively; nor would they gain reputations by merely collecting and editing documents, as too often in the past.

With extension of the use of microcopies, and apparatus installed in virtually every institution, cost levels will be reduced until it will be cheaper to make a copy than to pay mailing charges on library loans.

Effective research will be possible anywhere, even west of the Alleghenies, a region often regarded as one of Cimmerian darkness by scholars of the East.

But greater mobility of existing printed material will not mark the limits of the usefulness of microcopies. The process is adapted to the reproduction of manuscripts and miscellaneous typewritten data. Business

(Continued on page 56)



CARD Fifty pages of a rare book photographed on one 5 x 8 filing card is the newest wrinkle in library service and economy.



SYSTEM Banks eliminate a cause of dispute by passing checks under the camera's eye, making a permanent film record of them.

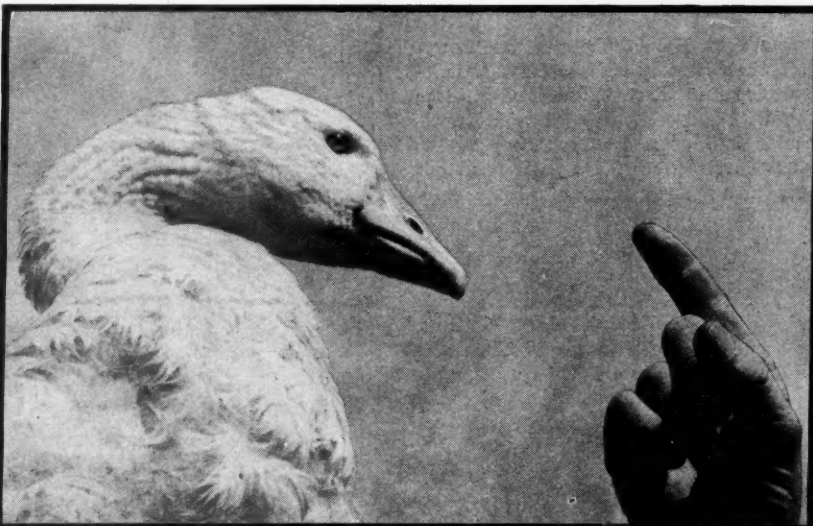
LOOK PLEASANT, PLEASE

Photographs from the U. S. Camera Salon, an exhibit of the work of American photographers, to be shown in New York and thereafter in other cities and in Europe; sponsored by the U. S. Camera Annual, Photographic Illustrators, Inc., and Agfa Ansco Corporation.



Carlton D. Holton

TIBET



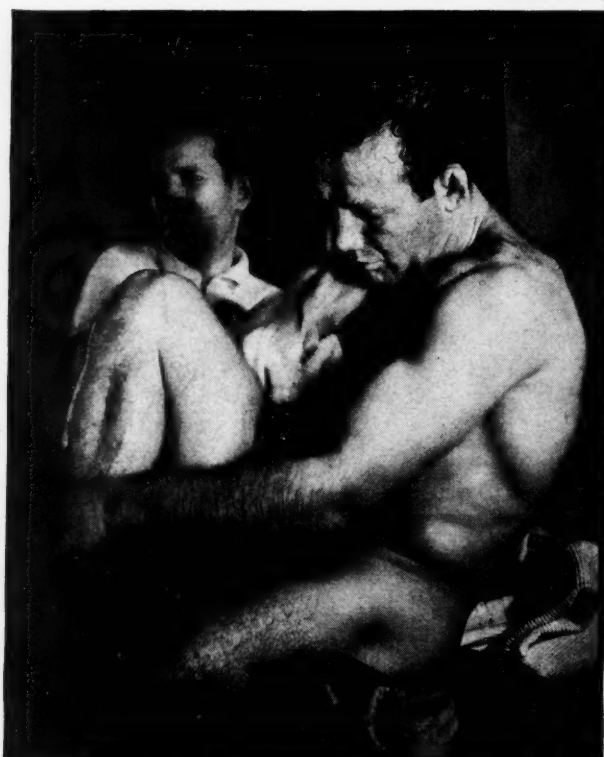
Larry June

WATCH YOUR STEP



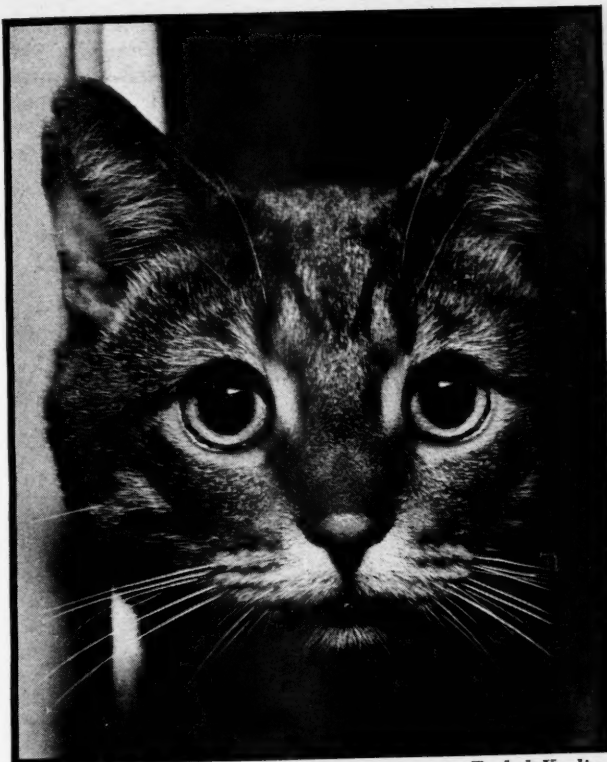
Winemiller & Miller

OKAY, JACK



Remie Lohse

AFTERMATH



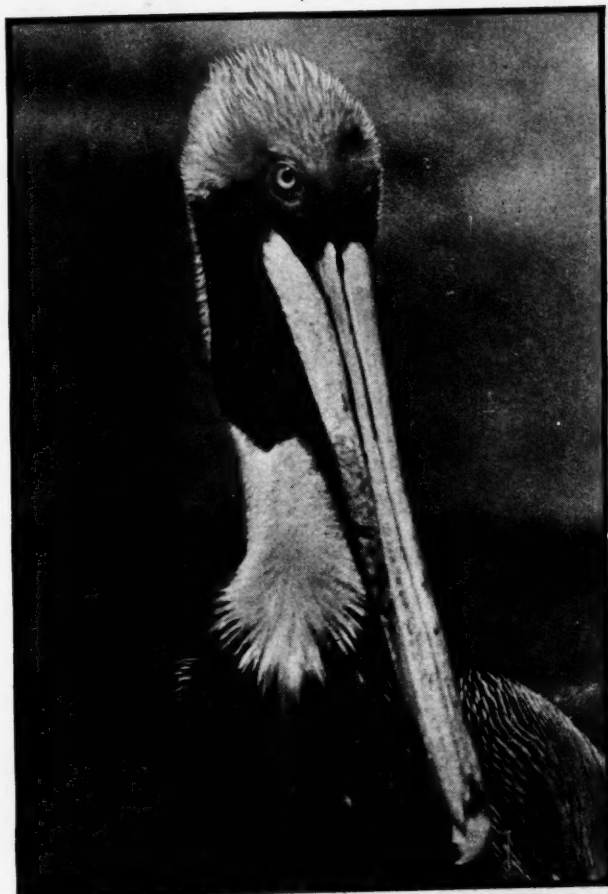
CURIOSITY

Torkel Korling



PUDDINHEAD

Leon De Vos



PENSIVE

L. Charles Smith



SHAPELY

Lazarnick

CITY BOYS

Laying a country road at a CCC camp is valuable experience for these New York City boys whose families are "on relief". And meanwhile they are helping to build the planned U.S.A.



Keystone

PLANNING THE NEW U. S. A.

BY ALBERT SHAW

Government agencies have billions to spend on reconstructing America. But after all they mainly give impetus to a work that for many years has been shaped and guided by voluntary leaders.

THE COUNTRY has had glad tidings about a reconstructed America. Departments and agencies at Washington are fairly jostling one another in their eagerness to do great things, and above all to let it be known that they propose to write down their bright visions, in a bold and unmistakable manner, upon the face of the landscape. Though not perhaps expert themselves, these higher personages of the present administration can employ town-planners, country-planners, park-designers, foresters, agriculturists, architects, and engineers of many varieties. These professionals can supply the technical knowledge.

But also the more amateur personages at the head of the bureaus and

various conservation services can employ writers, publicity men, operators of multigraphing machinery, in squadrons and battalions. The planning and engineering groups tell the good news to the publicity groups. The multigraph men see that the city press and the rural newspapers alike are well informed. The radio plays its increasing part in the noble work of bringing to thrilled attention the pleasant story of a long-neglected America that is now taken in hand by young enthusiasts, thousands of whom have accepted salaried jobs at Washington. They are making sacrifice of ease and comfort, in their zeal to go forth as home missionaries, and to create a new America—out of hand,

with electrifying energy—that will correspond to their ideals as idealists and their visions as visionaries.

It is said that Mr. Tugwell has a force at Washington of some 16,000 clerks and various helpers. As he goes forth and about, to reconnoitre and perchance to discover vast areas of soil erosion and millions of acres here and there that should be condemned as sub-marginal, he will blue-pencil their boundaries on his map of field strategy. Then his great body of helpers in the rear can bring supplies and reinforcements to the many fronts, where his mappings will indicate the pressing need of fundamental action.

Poor lands must henceforth be

abandoned. People must no longer be let alone in their cabin homes. From the drought areas, where their hopes have been blighted, and their farms scattered by fierce winds, the inhabitants must be transferred to better places. Hills must be cut down to fill the gullies on eroded lands. Streams must be cleared of their accumulated debris. Areas must be set aside for forests. Six hundred thousand young men (more or less, in CCC camps) must attend, without delay, to restoring the forest resources that the reckless pioneers destroyed.

Congress at the beginning of the present year gave President Roosevelt the tidy sum of five billion dollars with which to set on foot every conceivable kind of public activity, in order that three and a half million men—willing workers who were out of employment—should be mobilized for this practical enterprise of redeeming the waste places, and making everything as bright as newly coined silver dollars. This unparalleled peace-time army was authorized to lay hold upon the implements necessary to make every county and locality in the United States a finer and better place for its people, and all within a single year. Such a program almost baffles comprehension.

It means the clearing of slums in cities, and the provision of model dwellings. It means the return of several million people to the land, with conditions prescribed and carefully planned. The life in the country that Washington bureaus plan must carry with it a maximum of advantage, and likewise a minimum of disappointment.

Roosevelt's Background

Let no one suppose that these comments are intended to be flippant, or even mildly sarcastic. When Mr. Roosevelt delivered his written speech of acceptance at the Chicago convention more than three years ago his first item, in a list of devices that he would recommend to relieve unemployment, was the engaging of one million men in forestry work. With his experience in New York State—one of the best states in the Union for the study of mountain and valley, woodland and pasture, thin soils and good soils, orchards and field crops, city slums and down-at-the-heel villages—Mr. Roosevelt had acquired an aptitude for these problems of improvement in the surroundings of rural and urban populations.

New York State was a good laboratory in which to work out principles of conservation. Some of these principles had been applied while Mr. Roosevelt was Governor, and while



WINDOWLESS Yet its two rooms are "home" to a man, his wife, and their eleven children. In the backward Ozarks.



HOMESTEAD A five-room model home in the Government's subsistence homestead community, Reedsville, W. Va.



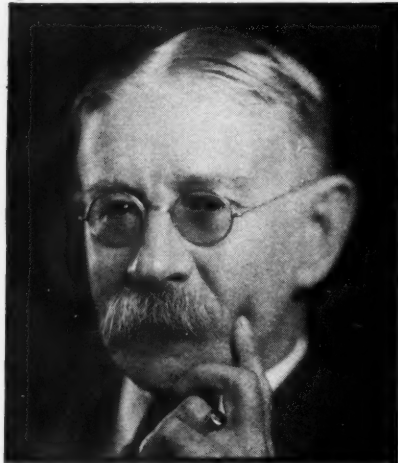
PLANNED A PWA-financed housing development within sight of New York skyscrapers. It is "home" to 957 families.

© Harris & Ewing



Miss Harlean James, leader among women workers for civic progress.

© Harris & Ewing



J. Horace McFarland, champion promoter of civic life and beauty.

Underwood & Underwood



Frederic A. Delano, chairman of the advisory planning board of PWA.

Mr. Henry Morgenthau Jr. (now Secretary of the Treasury) served as Conservation Commissioner at Albany, and also as chairman of Governor Roosevelt's Agricultural Advisory Commission.

Mr. Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, with training in an agricultural college and long experience as the editor of farm journals, has both the technical knowledge and the broad outlook that lend support to President Roosevelt's views of conservation and reform. Mr. Tugwell is adaptable, has fluency and audacity, and possesses administrative ability. The fresh mind, brought into some new sphere of activity, is often valuable because of the stimulated interest aroused by discovery of the obvious.

We have many thousands of men in the United States, each one of whom could tell Professor Tugwell all about soil erosion, areas of depleted soils and uncertain rainfall, and so on. But the self-confident and unabashed pro-

fessor, now Under-Secretary of Agriculture, with Uncle Sam's money to spend, and hundreds of experts already at work in states and counties, can give a most desirable impetus to things already understood, but which greatly need encouragement and financial help. In the long run, it is the states that must conserve their soils; and they must administer their own parks and forests. They must reform their own slum conditions, and they must look after rural housing, sanitation, and public health services.

But instead of condemning what many critics call the impulsiveness and the light-hearted wastefulness of spendthrift policies at Washington, let us try to see the Administration's efforts in a favorable light and a kindly spirit. Some of these undertakings need sharp and prompt revision, because—like the policies of the AAA—they have dealt with statistical conditions and abstractions, rather than with actual people, whether in city tenements or in rural homes.

Trial and Error

Perhaps they were off to a hesitant and confused start, with the distribution of five billion dollars to be made, and the employment of several million men. They were proposing to carry out, simultaneously, several thousand of larger and smaller projects, each one of which required general planning and also precise reduction to measured blueprints. There will be too many expensive post-office buildings in localities that would be better off without them. There will be some unnecessary road construction. Relief workers will create a golf course, here and there, in districts where nobody has ever seen a bag of golf sticks.

But the good buildings, serving local pride, will stand for a hundred years;

and it will do the country good to have more golf courses in city parks, and in places where farm boys can play golf as well as baseball. In Scotland, golf is also a poor man's game.

There is one good thing about this period of depression: We are all thoroughly tired of pretentiousness and exclusiveness. Let the office boy beat the boss at a golf game. Let the factory girl beat the boss's daughter playing tennis. Nobody any longer resents such ideas. We are coming out of the depression a more truly democratic country than we have ever been.

But let us have less politics in this broad movement for the bettering of the country and the uplift of our people. It would be a dull person who would say that Mr. Hoover cares less about the "more abundant life" for everybody than does Mr. Roosevelt. Mrs. Coolidge, Mrs. Hoover, Mrs. Roosevelt—all have been and still are alike devoted to the success of every movement for the welfare of our women and children.

Pioneers in Planning

Theodore Roosevelt, when president, appointed a Country Life Commission to study thoroughly the conditions existing in rural places throughout the United States. This was a group of patriotic and far-seeing men; and the chairman of it was that great citizen, "Uncle Henry" Wallace, grandfather of the present Secretary of Agriculture. Heading the Department of Agriculture was "Tama Jim" Wilson of Iowa; and his right-hand man was Dr. Seaman Knapp, former head of the Iowa State Agricultural College, of which our present Secretary is a graduate. President Theodore Roosevelt invited all the Governors to bring groups of their best-qualified people as delegates, and they held a White House Conference of several days on all the problems of the nation's resources, and the best means for their improvement and conservation.

While Henry Wallace (son of "Uncle Henry", and father of the present Secretary) was in Mr. Harding's cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture, another great conference was held at Washington, attended by the officers and delegates of more than one hundred voluntary societies and organizations interested in forests, game life, outdoor recreation, nature-study, agriculture, public health, public parks, historical localities, and the training of young people through such agencies as the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts for sturdy and wholesome life. The conference was for the purpose of harmonizing programs and movements that called for legis-

lation. It included people interested in travel, roads, roadsides improvement, and all that is comprised in such terms as town-planning and countryside planning.

It brought state park and conservation commissions, as well as other state and national officials, into close contact with federal officers concerned with national parks, forestry, and other services. It brought botanists and zoologists, along with landscape architects and scientific men of various specialties. Mr. Hoover was then Secretary of Commerce, and the younger Theodore Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. To this young man was assigned the duty of serving as permanent chairman of the conference, and he acquitted himself in a manner that met with universal approval and praise.

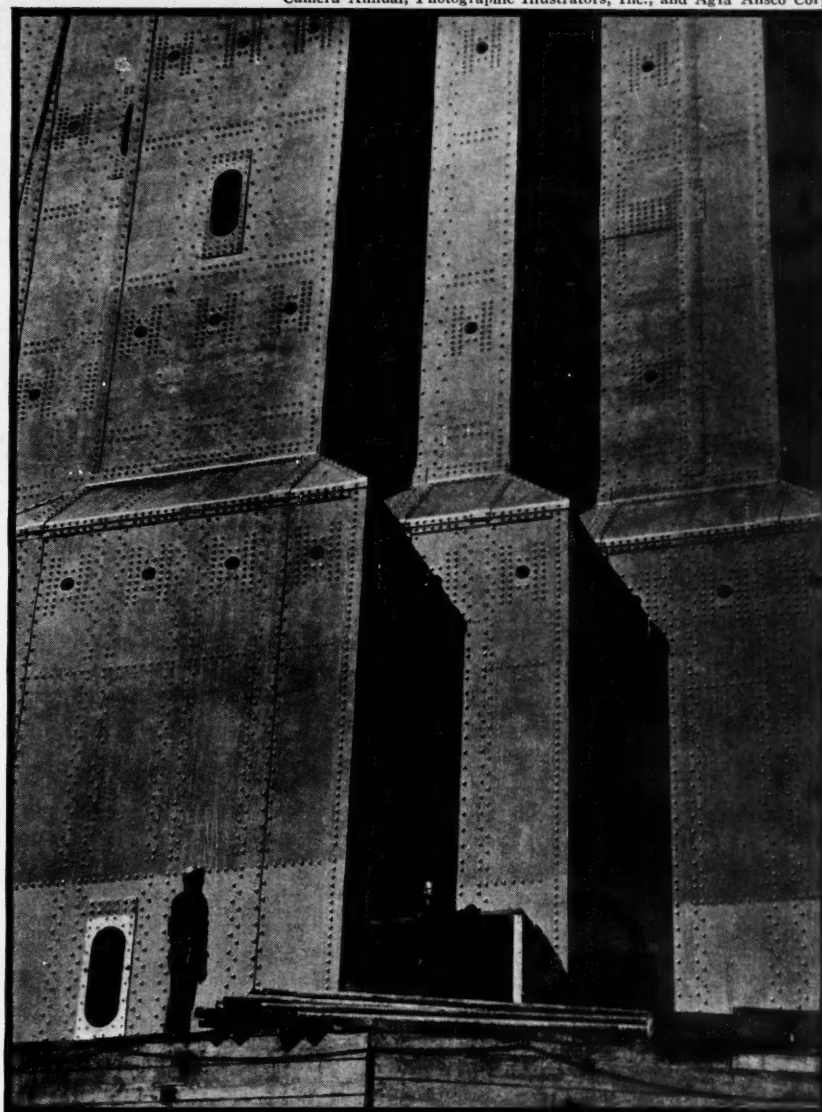
Earlier Groundwork

During the presidency of Mr. Hoover there was more than one great conference at Washington having to do with such broad subjects as child welfare, housing and other social conditions; and these were of major influence and permanent significance.

In these references I am not setting the efforts of the past thirty years in contrast with the stupendous official program of the present year. My sole object is to call attention to the one thing that is more essential than any other that could be mentioned. It is the voluntary agencies—stimulating Congress and state legislatures, and supporting administrative officials—that have been leading the country onward to the possibilities of further great achievement. Without such backgrounds, present undertakings on the part of the federal government could hardly be conceived.

Merely to mention the names of individuals like Charles Lathrop Pack, Gifford Pinchot, and a dozen others is to recall the whole story of public and private effort for forest reserves, and the scientific approach to the forestry problem. To present the name of Daniel C. Beard is to remind the country of the successful efforts to interest hundreds of thousands of boys and girls in out-of-door-affairs, in athletic sports, in bird life and bird sanctuaries, and in many wholesome and natural kinds of work and play.

There are voluntary civic organizations of long standing and admitted usefulness that have included in their membership citizens of high public spirit, specialists in different professional fields, and persons holding positions in the local, state, and national governments. One of the foremost of these, over a period of more than thirty years, has been the American



DURABLE

California monuments to planning with federal aid include two giant bridges. This is a pillar at Golden Gate.

Civic Association, which was formed by a merger of earlier leagues and societies devoted to parks and civic improvement. The object of the ACA was stated to be "the cultivation of higher ideals for civic life and beauty in America; the promotion of city, town and neighborhood improvement; the preservation and development of landscape, and the advancement of outdoor art."

Experienced Planners

For twenty-one years a Pennsylvanian of high spirit and great energy, J. Horace McFarland of Harrisburg, served as president of the ACA. His associates and fellow-workers have been men and women each of whom has rendered such worthy service, local or general, as to deserve a place in a special American "Who's Who" of helpful and constructive citizen-

ship. Mr. McFarland, whose public activities show no lessening of energy, was succeeded in the presidency of the ACA some ten years ago by Frederic A. Delano. Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft were members of this organization; and numbered among its active associates have been prominent personages in every succeeding administration. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has been and remains a member of the Board of Directors.

Mr. McFarland took the leading part in the efforts that resulted in the preservation of Niagara Falls, from the standpoint of its scenic attractions. The ACA was foremost, for a number of years, in creating the sentiment that resulted in the establishment of the National Park Service in the Department of the Interior. It

(Continued on page 55)

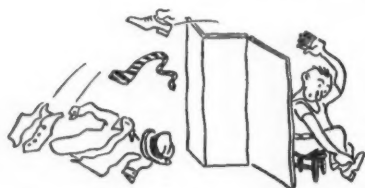
WHAT'S NEWS IN BUSINESS

BY EDWARD B. WEISS

New ideas in products and services are constantly being evolved—and new selling devices which make you reach for your pocketbook. The result: better values for the consumer and bigger and better business.

What! No Pajamas?

First it was the hat manufacturers who worried about the hatless fad. Then the underwear manufacturers worried when Noel Coward, in a recent picture, skipped underwear when he dressed in view of the camera. Now the pajama makers are awake nights because nudism in bed became an issue as a result of a chance remark made at a meeting of the American Cosmeticians Association. Fighting trends of this kind with arguments is



futile. Sometimes they can be ridiculed out of existence. Sometimes they can be "hush-hushed" into the limbo of forgotten things. But the best thing that can happen is for the industry thus afflicted to recognize that, if its product were more nearly perfect, its chances of survival would be better. The men's hatmakers brought out lightweight hats and have made some progress. The underwear people are introducing some new ideas in men's underwear with abbreviated shorts as sponsored by Cooper, and some new ideas by B.V.D. When will the pajama makers forget their race for ever more passionate colors, and design pajamas that are more comfortable to sleep in, particularly during hot weather?

Linoleum-Laying

A new product expected to give the floor-covering industry a real fillip is being introduced by Congoleum-Nairn, Inc. It is called Adhesive Sealex Linoleum, applied to the floor

as gummed tape is to a package. Five years of experimentation were required to develop the product. Water is brushed over the under side of the linoleum and, presto! it becomes firmly affixed to the floor. Felt and paste, the two nuisances of linoleum-laying, are eliminated.

Speedy F.T.C.

The Federal Trade Commission, which required five years to compile and publish certain chain-store statistics—with the result that its figures were as out-of-date as stock-market quotations of early 1929—proves again that a snail could give it a pretty good race. The Commission recently issued a complaint against the Davis Knitting Mills, Inc., charging the company with using the words "Knitting Mills" while not owning or operating mills. But the company had been out of business for almost a year.

...Greatest of Ease

Rex Cole, nationally known General Electric distributor, has been using a blind demonstrator in the show windows of his thirty-three dealer display stores. Jack Shaeffer proves that total blindness is not a handicap when it comes to operating a G-E ironer or washer.

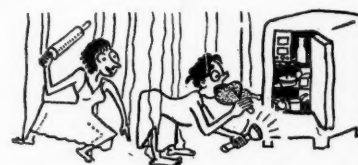
Water Now Washed

Now it's water-conditioning: The Permutit Company, which for years has sold water-softening equipment to industry, is now marketing a water-conditioning device for homes. The company is capitalizing the current interest in air-conditioning, and uses many of the same arguments. The device not only softens water, but removes all dirt, bad taste, odor—in brief, it conditions the water. Permutit

plans to interest distributors of air-conditioning units, because it believes the two lines have a natural affinity.

Puppets Tell All

One of the most ancient of theatrical devices, the puppet show, finds a new use in industry. The Norge Division of the Borg-Warner Corporation, maker of the Norge electric refrigerator, stages a unique puppet show called "All in a WifETIME." The mari-



onettes are among the largest in existence, almost half human size. Miniature reproductions of the company's refrigerators and other items are used. The playlet requires thirty minutes and is staged in department and other stores. It has been received with real enthusiasm.

How to Live on \$25

For years you have been reading life-insurance ads telling you that you could retire at a later age and live happily ever after. Perhaps you wonder how you could live comfortably on, say, \$25 a week. The Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company takes the logical step, in its current advertising, of answering that question. It tells exactly where you may go to spend a lifetime of ease on \$100 a month. For example, it is stated in one of the advertisements that you can enjoy life in "The Sun Parlor of the Nation"—Georgia, to you—at \$25 per week. A booklet is offered called "Wonder Spots of America", which describes sections of the country

where a \$25 weekly check will keep one happy. The advertising will interest many persons who may not be thinking of insurance, but who are wondering how they can make the old family investment last a few years longer.

Raisin Recipes

The new Sun-Maid Raisin cartons contain, on the back, a full-color illustration of a dish made of raisins, with the recipe printed under the picture. There are twelve separate dishes and recipes. Only one is on each carton. However, Sun-Maid has found it worth while to work out a plan so that each of the twelve will be distributed in case shipments to retailers. Thus your dealer will usually have a complete set in stock. Women are never surfeited with good recipes. Therefore,



even though the plan adds somewhat to packing costs of the Sun-Maid Raisin Growers Association, it should prove a good investment—particularly since too few women know about the many cooking uses for raisins.

It Pays to Be Clean

Remember, when you were a youngster, how some of the confection packages contained little surprise gifts? Now the Sir Klenzo Manufacturing Company has secreted \$191.25 in 12,000 packages of Sir Klenzo cleaner. The money is in actual currency. The caches run from 25 cents to \$10. No effort is involved to win one of the prizes. It's purely luck. Therefore it is frowned upon by Uncle Sam's post-office. Consequently, while newspaper and radio announcements mention the prize offer, they do not reveal the details. Women are advised to "see your grocer." Thousands of them, piqued by curiosity, have done so, and the treasure hunt is in full swing. All of which proves two things: First, that the gambling instinct is strong in all of us; second, that there is more than one way to fool Uncle Sam and his post-office.

Recovery Sign

Quality is staging a genuine comeback. Retailers in many lines report interest among consumers in better merchandise. For example, fur-trimmed coats retailing near the \$100 mark have been doing almost as well as coats selling for half that figure. A large New York department store recently added

shoes of a quality that had to sell at a much higher price than its previously highest priced line. The new shoes are selling well. Both the August Fur Sale and the August Furniture Sale convincingly demonstrated the renewed demand for better merchandise. It seems though the cycle is complete. First, the public was fooled by shoddy merchandise, when economy became necessary. Then the public simply had to buy shoddy merchandise, because it could afford no better, even though it realized that it was not getting real value. Today the public pocketbook is in a healthier condition and consumers are beginning to satisfy their desire for quality products.

Sponge Promotion

The American Sponge & Chamois Company had a five-year accumulation of small sponges, left-overs which seem to be the inevitable result of the manufacturing process. Until a year ago these left-overs simply took up space. Then the sponges were wrapped in Cellophane, put up in a neat counter display, a booklet was prepared giving many uses for sponges, and the sponge was given a name—Anna Sponge. A trade character was created in the figure of a little girl with sponge for her hair and body. Then a brother, Andy Sponge, was added, to identify the somewhat larger sponges. In two months the company sold its five-year accumulation.

Introducing "Stubby"

The Owens-Illinois Glass Company, to meet the competition of canned beer, and to eliminate the need for bottle returns, has developed "Stubby", a one-trip beer bottle. Stubby is about 31 per cent shorter than the standard beer container.

It's a Gift!

With every package of Johnston's Old Fashioned Home Made Candies there comes a paper luncheon cloth, of the same design and material as the red-and-white checkered paper that covers the package. This, in



turn, carries out the "old-fashioned" theme of the name of this package. On top of the luncheon cloth is a card, reading: "This is the Luncheon

Cloth I want you to accept with my compliments. Its size is thirty-eight inches by thirty-eight inches and its uses are many—for picnics, to brighten your morning table, afternoon tea, and bridge."

Family Rivals

Colgate has joined the dentifrice makers who are pushing dental powder, which has made a sensational come-back. Colgate's advertising features the economy appeal—shows how a family of seven may save \$18.80 a year by using dental powder instead of toothpaste. Says one ad: "Compared with most toothpastes, this powder saves up to 77 per cent on dentifrice bills. In addition it cleans better." Apparently the company does not fear



that this advertising will hurt the sales of Colgate's Dental Ribbon Cream, the grand-daddy of toothpastes. Stirring up a little rivalry in one's own family very often is a mighty good thing.

Helps to Housewives

Loose-Wiles Biscuit, in current advertising, includes a column called "Foodcasts". This column does not concern itself primarily with the company's crackers. Instead it tells women, in brief paragraphs, how to wash glasses that have had milk in them, how to use an egg-beater to lift asparagus from hot water, etc. Housewives are always hungry for this sort of information.

Sales Bluff?

The money-back idea—with double-your-money-back being offered by half a dozen prominent companies including Colgate-Palmolive and Libby—is going strong. Latest to adopt the plan is General Cigar Company, Inc., for White Owl. This is the offer: Buy a five-pack of Vintage White Owls at any dealer. Smoke one. Try another if you wish. Then, if you don't think it's the best five-cent cigar you ever have smoked, mail the remaining cigars to the manufacturer and the entire price of the five-pack—plus postage—will be cheerfully refunded. It is a strange quirk in human nature that, although few people ever take advantage of these money-back offers (even though the product may not live up to the claims made for it) the idea never seems to lose its tremendous sales-producing power.



From The Illustrated London News

AS MUSSOLINI STRIKES

BY G. H. SEYBOLD

A careful analysis of the natural obstacles which confront the invaders of Ethiopia; written by a specialist on colonial matters who knows the treacherous terrain of East African wastes.

IN THE PAST seventy years three armies have been annihilated by the Ethiopians in the neighborhood of Adowa. One other, in a remarkable dash, got as far as Magdala, accomplished its object, and withdrew from the country in twenty-two weeks. All invasions from the Red Sea have followed the same route.

Both the aims and magnitude of Italy's operations in the coming attempt at conquest demand an altered strategy, while motorized army units and recently acquired knowledge of the desert barrier are likely to provide surprising developments.

It has been customary for the attackers to land somewhere in Annes-

ley Bay, where the modern port of Massaua is located. Protected anchorage there is but a short distance from the high plateau which comprises the fertile, populous, and desirable country. The mountains, 6,000 feet high, are here separated from the sea by only a short stretch of desert—which widens to more than 200

miles on the line of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway, nearly 500 miles to the south. The plateau breaks down on to the desert in steep declivities cut by rugged gorges where the watercourses from the highlands debouch on to the plain and are drunk up by sun and sand.

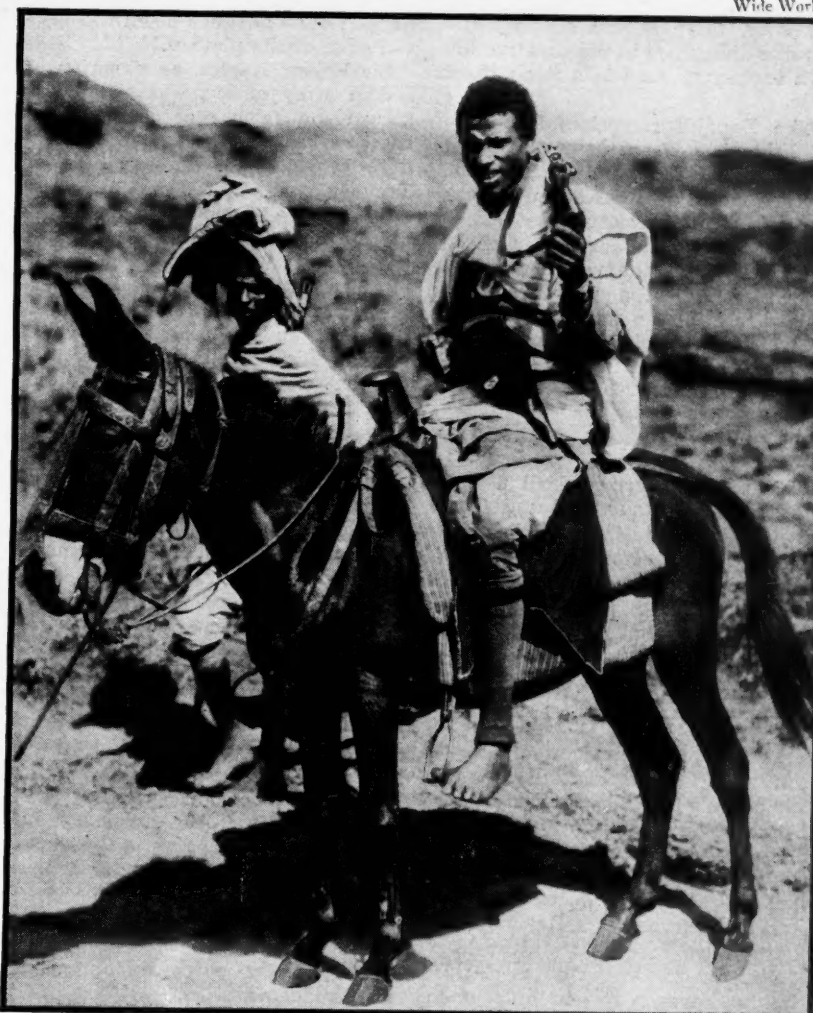
Reunion at Adowa?

For the moral effect of avenging the defeat of 1896, Adowa will no doubt be one of the first Italian objectives. This advance will be from Asmara, in the Eritrean highlands. It will follow the usual route, which has been down the eastern edge of the escarpment. It is absolutely essential for the Italians, however, bent on permanent conquest and occupation, that they penetrate to the heart of the county as quickly as possible and establish efficient lines of communication. The tumbled terrain, deep ravines, and steep ascents of the plateau country would make this a matter of years. The Italians were eight years building the 75-mile railway up from the desert to their plateau capital at Asmara. The French took twenty-one years to build 492 miles of track from Djibouti, the capital of French Somaliland, to Addis Ababa in the heart of Ethiopia.

The only practical route for the Italian invaders will be across the Danakil desert country, to cut the French railroad at the most practicable point. The shortest line would be from Assab, on the Red Sea, near the southern end of Eritrea, and following around the boundary of French Somaliland. But Assab is a mere roadstead and, while feasible for temporary landings, could not provide shipping facilities for a permanent railhead. This route would require truck or tractor transport over some 200 miles.

The eventual permanent route probably will be developed from Massaua, or from Zula or Mersa Fatima, all on Annesley Bay. Such a route would range from 350 to 550 miles, depending upon where it was designed to cut the present French railroad. It would have to cross country as much as 400 feet below sea level, and probably rising to elevations of not more than 1,000 feet, where temperatures of 167 degrees have been recorded and in which the only white men who ever saw the country and came out alive suffered in shade temperatures of 140 to 156 degrees. The army of conquest would be forced to establish water tanks along the route and garrisoned posts for supplies.

On the basis of such information as was secured by the only explorers who have ever crossed the Danakil



MULE

Ethiopian mounted sharpshooter, with a dusky foot escort who clings to his stirrup in the event of any mobile attack.



TANKS

Squadron of Italian whippet tanks of the very latest design, built by Fiat of Turin for rapid shock action against foes.

lowlands, there should be no insuperable difficulties to the construction of a temporary road in a fairly short time.

The Danakil comprises one-ninth of Ethiopia. Properly speaking, it consists of all the country east of the plateau including Eritrea and French Somaliland, neither of whose boundaries has ethnical or geographical significance. In the whole area the only place where agriculture is indulged in is in the sultanate of Aussa, which Haile Selassie is reported to have offered to sell to Italy as a propitiatory gesture.

Ordeal by Desert

This most blistering of all deserts lay hidden from the world until 1928, when L. M. Nesbitt, an Englishman, with two Italian companions traversed it from south to north. They traveled some 800 miles in three and a half months, in one of the outstanding feats of exploration of the last fifty years. Three previous expeditions had been wiped out by the natives in merely trying to cross from east to west, 150 miles only; and all European nationals were forbidden by their consuls to enter the Danakil.

As described by Nesbitt, the Danakil is a desolate waste of sand, rocks, active and extinct volcanoes, surrounded by great fields of lava, salt lakes, and one bed of salt some 2,000 square miles in extent and at least 200 feet deep. On the edges of this, primitive savages live in huts made of salt blocks and hack out the rectangular bars which, known as *mollie*, are transported to the plateau by camel caravan and there are used as money. The Ethiopian *thaler* is still minted in Vienna with the head of Maria Theresa and the date 1780. There is no currency in parts of the interior, where salt is more highly prized.

It is not difficult to understand that up to now this inhospitable country has been a barrier to invading armies, who have always taken the shortest route to the highlands. It is conceivable also that it may now provide—through tractor and, later, truck transport—a means of subjugation that has hitherto been very effectively resisted.

It may and probably will be possible for Mussolini's forces to duplicate the feat of Sir Robert Napier on the plateau, but it will not be possible for them to remain permanently in possession of the country and subdue it to the arts of peace without a fairly rapid and efficient line of communication to the interior. This exploit was not only remarkable as an example of efficient military enterprise, but it provides a precedent as to what may

happen in an advance down the eastern edge of the plateau.

Sir Robert Napier, an experienced Indian army officer, was ordered to secure the release of some British captives held by the Emperor Theodore in 1868. Landing at Zula on January 7 with 32,000 men, of whom 16,000 were a transport corps, he built a road to the Senapé Pass (a road in use today) and marched 420 miles to Magdala. There he defeated Theodore, razed the town, released the prisoners, and by June 18 every last man of his expedition had left the country. It is true that owing to disaffection of local chiefs, Theodore was able to offer little resistance.

An army of 14,000 Egyptians was completely annihilated on the Adowa route in 1874 when they met unified opposition, although they were under European command in the person of a Dane named Arendrup. The following year a force of similar size—under Ratip Pasha, an American named Loring, and Prince Hassan—suffered the same fate.

It would seem that modern arms should be an offset to any unity the Ethiopians might display, and that an Italian movement down the plateau should be accomplished with little loss and a fair degree of celerity. Indeed, the best Ethiopian tactics would be complete abandonment of mass resistance. Machine-guns can be of little use against guerilla warfare by small bands which melt away into an apparently peaceful countryside after sudden attacks.

Tough Terrain

A successful advance through Adowa and down the plateau would attempt to follow the caravan route through the interior to Addis Ababa. No considerable force could be maintained there, in the centre of hostile country, without supply trains. These, in the absence of a connection with the railway, would have to move overland some 700 miles through extremely difficult country. A Danakil road would be much shorter, and it would be negotiable for trucks in two to four days.

The only difficulties present by the development of such a road would be natural ones, because the wretched inhabitants of the region could offer no effective resistance. It is almost incredible that human beings can exist under such conditions, yet the Nesbitt party found small tribes engaged in continual warfare with each other and living entirely on the milk and flesh of goats near such waterholes as supported enough vegetation to keep the beasts alive. The only art of the Danakil savage is war, his only clothing a loin cloth or skin, and his

only accoutrements a spear and a kidskin waterbag which he is never without. In the terrific temperatures it is necessary to moisten the lips every few minutes.

In the southeastern corner of the Danakil is the oasis of Aussa, which is now dragged from the obscurity and security of ages to the headlines of papers in countries never dreamed of by its inhabitants. The distrust of Europeans which has been traditional with his forebears was expressed by the sultan, Mohammad Yaio. He was suspicious of the visiting white men seven years ago who "looked into mountains with telescopes and put his country on paper. They were not merchants but men who wrote in books, and any who might follow after them could find what they had seen, for the face of the earth was written down in their pages."

He wanted to know whether, in their country, there were iron birds which carried men, and if it were true that there water turned to stone.

Of some 9,000 square miles of Mohammad Yaio's territory, the fertile and cultivated area is unknown. Centuries ago his predecessors imported Arab engineers to devise irrigation works. Properly the arable part is not an oasis, but the low land between several arms of the expiring Awash River. This largest of the numerous streams which break down through the eastern escarpment of the plateau forms an inland delta before it gives up the struggle with the desert and disappears in the all-absorbing sands. The fertile silts are the basis of agricultural activity and animal husbandry that have made Aussa a legendary land, symbolical of wealth not only to the desert tribes of the Danakil but to the plateau dwellers as well.

The land abounds in cattle, camels, goats, and horses—the only place in the Danakil where the horse can exist. The Nesbitt party was overwhelmed with gifts of cattle-milk and melted butter. Just as so great a monarch could not belittle himself with trifling gifts, no matter how useless to the recipient, so also it was discovered that he could not accept less than the price of ordinary men when it came to selling camels.

About 32 years old, the sultan of Aussa betrays in his finely chiselled features and delicate hands his semitic and ancient Egyptian origin. He discoursed amiably on the purposes and travels of his visitors, and asked if it were true that they had a "watch" by which they could find water in the desert. Nesbitt promised that when he got back to his luggage he would send him a compass.

(Continued on page 60)

SPOTLIGHTS ON DARKEST AMERICA

American cartoonists almost invariably keep their tempers sweet, and lack that indignation which puts the punch into Europeans.



1936

By Smith, in the San Francisco Examiner
Your Republican elephant hauls the old "constitutional" roller skates out of the ashcan, which gives him a badly needed issue for '36.



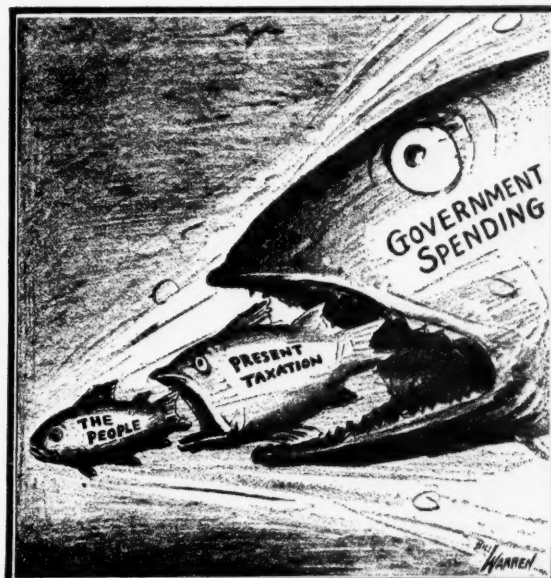
AIRY

By Herblock, N.E.A. Service ©
Food prices and elephantine hopes of the Republicans fly sky high together, which is bad news for Mr. Roosevelt.



SANTA

By Enright, in the New York American ©
The A.A.A. gent is handing out nice Christmas presents to all of our foreign capitalistic competitors, much to their joy and satisfaction.



SHARKS

By Warren, in the Buffalo Evening News
Government spending eats up present taxation, which in turn eats up the poor Populus Americanus.



By Yardley, in the Baltimore Sun

BULLY

The frightened Italian points to the big, bad Ethiopian strongman as a menace to his fascist peace-of-mind. Poor John Bull!



By Ray, in the Kansas City Star

THIRD?

Possible Third Parties, in the form of Grand Canyons, yawn up on each side of the presidential rider as his way narrows.



By Carlisle, in the Des Moines Register

TAPED

How can the muffled business man do any breathing when he is all tied up in miles of red tape? The President may know how.



By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

BLIMP

The soaring pig reminds one of a World Warlike Zeppelin, up above the clouds so high, and far beyond the reach of us all.

EUROPEANS VIEW WITH ALARM

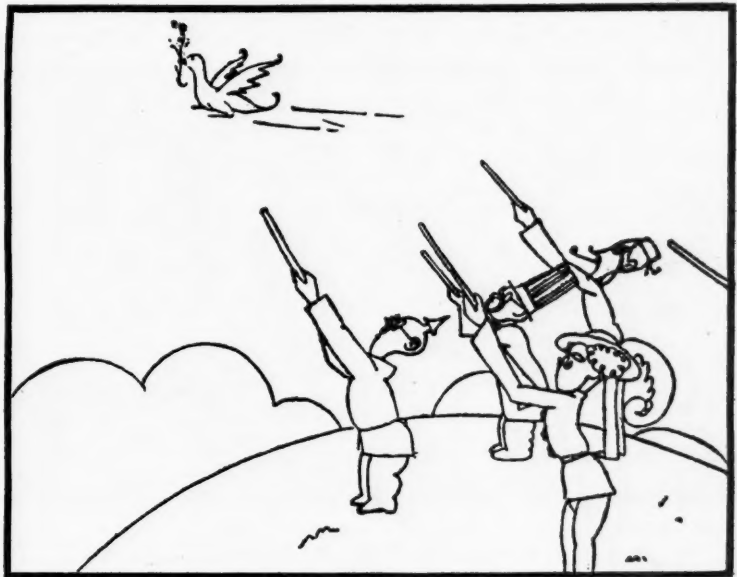


From Die Gruene Post (Berlin)

FRANCE

Will the flighty Gallic weathercock please notice his very red Russian tail?

DOVE



From the Madrid Sol (Spain)

Germany, Uncle Sam, John Bull, and above all, Mussolini's Italy take pot-shots at the poor little peace dove as she flutters off for shelter under the fire of all four.



From De Groene Amsterdammer (Holland)

FOOL

Is the smart dictator of Italy digging his own grave in the wild wastes of East Africa? World opinion leans to that harsh conclusion.



From the Florence 420 (Italy)

ITALY

The heroic crusader, so very civilized by fascism, attacks African barbarism to free unselfishly the beautiful black slave-girl.



From the Daily Express (London)

NOISE

While the powers confer at Geneva to preserve peace, nobody can turn off the everlasting radio broadcaster which hollers and spouts out "war", "troops", "glory", and other bughouse fables. This seriously embarrasses those in conference, but supermen must be advertised as all Italians know.



From the Moscow Izvestia (Russia)

BOILS

The chronic infection of Old Man Europe has now broken out on his quivering and inflamed African front.



From the Milan Guerin Meschino (Italy)

BIG THREE

This attractive triumvirate is made up of Japan, Britannia, and the Ethiopian, all of them highly anti-Italian.

COTTON'S CHANGING POSITION

BY C. T. REVERE

A change for the better in American cotton results from the Government's new loan policy. And it is about time, for our high-priced product was losing ground in world competition with cheaper grades.

IT IS DOUBTFUL if any commodity has attracted more widespread attention than that of cotton. Acreage reduction, crop control, processing taxes, declining exports, reduced consumption of American cotton by foreign spinners, together with an increase in production abroad that menaces the domination of American cotton in world markets—these are phases that have been made the subject of journalistic portrayal and editorial comment to an extraordinary extent.

An amazing change has come over the cotton picture as we used to know it. Only a few years ago American cotton had the call in practically every foreign market, and the United States supplied more than 60 per cent of the fleecy staple that passed through the spindles and looms of the textile centers of the United States and other countries. But for

the season that closed with the end of July, 1935, the consumption of American cotton represented only about 44.4 per cent of the total.

Our Cotton Loses

Last season the production of American cotton amounted to 9,615,000 bales. Production in other countries, according to preliminary estimates, reached 12,952,000 bales. To gain some idea of the change that has come about in recent years it is necessary to go back only to the season of 1931-32, when the American cotton crop amounted to 16,877,000 bales and the production of foreign cotton or so-called "outside growths" was only 9,658,000.

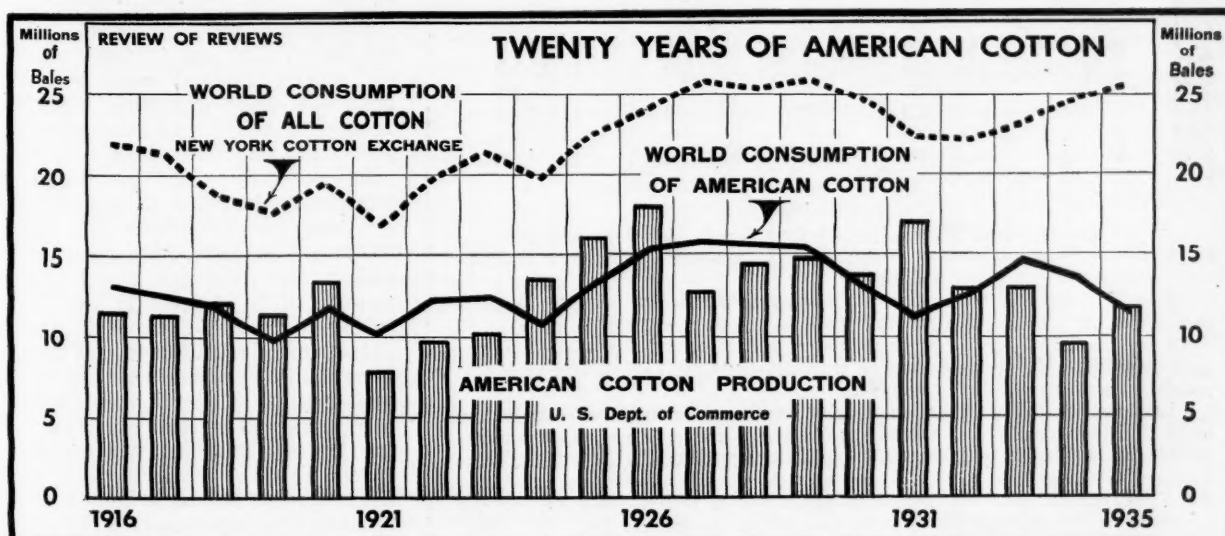
In three years American cotton production dropped from 16.8 million bales to 9.6 million, whereas the yield

of foreign cotton rose from 9.6 million bales to 12.9 million.

If we examine the figures of consumption, we find that in the season of 1932-33 the spindles of the world consumed 14,405,000 bales of American cotton, while for the season that closed last July, two years later, this total had dropped to 11,314,000. In the former season—1932-33—the consumption of "outside growths" was 10,347,000 bales, and for the season closing with July of this year, the use of foreign cottons had increased to 14,150,000.

In two years world consumption of American cotton dropped more than 3 million bales, and consumption of foreign cotton rose nearly 4 million.

It may be pertinent to sketch some of the moving causes for this transformation. At the outset it should be



CHANGE! Note that throughout the years the consumption of American cotton has kept pace with the consumption of all cotton—until 1933, when our cotton was artificially forced higher in price.

made clear that the agrarian policy of our Government had its initiative with the Hoover Administration, in the passage of the statute which organized the Federal Farm Board. In an effort to "protect" American agriculture, the half billion dollars appropriated under the Agricultural Marketing Act evaporated in a fruitless effort to sustain prices; and a large proportion of this loss may be credited to the cotton venture.

Raising Prices

The present Administration proceeded on the theory that to improve the purchasing power of the farmer, prices had to be raised; and that to bring about this price increase, surplus stocks must be reduced. This hypothesis took the form of an attempt at acreage and crop control based on cooperation from the growers themselves, to be obtained through benefit payments. That this program was measurably successful is shown by the fact that the crop last season was only 9,637,000 bales—though this

low production came about largely through the adventitious aid of a disastrous drought, which cut the crops of Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas far below normal.

It is hardly necessary to recite the financial details of the methods by which these results were achieved. It is requisite to state only that farmers were paid for their cooperation in crop reduction in the form of benefit disbursements obtained through the medium of a processing tax of 4.2 cents per pound, levied on cotton manufactured by domestic mills. Such payments have run well up into the hundreds of millions. That these vast sums have improved the position of the cotton grower goes without saying.

Another aspect of the program is not so gratifying, for it has meant unemployment for tens of thousands of farm tenants and farm laborers, as well as for individuals ordinarily employed in the handling and distribution of a cotton crop of normal size. The effect on the employment in the South is fairly well demon-

strated by the fact that last year relief payments from federal and state sources approximated \$210,000,000.

In the opinion of many cotton students, the factor that has been largely responsible for the decline in the use of American cotton has been the loan program adopted during this crop adjustment program. In all justice, however, it should be stated that the demand for a protective loan did not come from purely Administration sources; it was instituted at the insistent demand of members of the Senate and House of Representatives from the South.

The first loan was made on the basis of 10 cents per pound, for the season of 1933-34. In the following crop year, just ended, the rate was raised to 12 cents per pound. This, it was clearly demonstrated before the end of the season, was above world conception of values. Farmers placed a large proportion of their cotton with Uncle Sam under the 12-cent loan, well in excess of 4,000,000 bales out of a crop of about 9,600,000. It therefore was impossible to obtain much American cotton below 12 cents per pound, and foreign producers were willing to sell below an equivalent parity.

Customers Lost

As a result of this loan policy, foreign spinners turned to "outside growths" and adjusted their machinery to the use of Indian, Brazilian, Peruvian, and other varieties of cotton. Fifty different nationalities and sub-nationalities produce cotton, and every area suitable for growing this staple welcomed the opportunity, apparently willing to accept prices below a parity with the basis prevailing for the American product.

Fortunately a change has come for the better. The loan program—with its alleged "above world values" basis—has been discarded, and the new policy calls for a loan of 10 cents per pound. This has been a disappointment not only to Southern growers but to many of their friends in Congress. The blow has been softened, however, by provisions calling for payments guaranteeing approximately 12 cents to producers selling their cotton above 10 cents. This bounty is limited to two cents. A producer selling his cotton on a basis, say, of 10½ cents (the basis to be determined by the average of the ten leading Southern spot markets on the day the sale was executed) would receive 1½ cents bounty, thus insuring him approximately 12 cents for his output.

In other words, while a protective loan of 10 cents has been offered, as
(Continued on page 64)

American Cotton Production, Exports, and Consumption

	Acreage Harvested	Production (Bales)	Price (Sept. 6) (N. Y., lb.)	Exports (Bales)	World Consumption American Cotton (Bales)
1916	34,985,000	11,450,000	15.80	5,896,000	13,039,000
1917	33,841,000	11,302,000	22.20	5,300,000	12,561,000
1918	36,008,000	12,041,000	35.85	4,288,000	10,871,000
1919	33,566,000	11,421,000	28.85	5,592,000	9,909,000
1920	35,878,000	13,440,000	31.75	6,545,000	11,898,000
1921	30,509,000	7,954,000	20.10	5,744,000	10,268,000
1922	33,036,000	9,762,000	20.85	6,170,000	12,209,000
1923	37,123,000	10,140,000	27.35	4,789,000	12,446,000
1924	41,360,000	13,628,000	25.80	5,647,000	10,917,000
1925	46,053,000	16,104,000	22.65	7,999,000	13,311,000
1926	47,087,000	17,977,000	18.70	8,045,000	14,010,000
1927	40,138,000	12,956,000	22.75	10,963,000	15,748,000
1928	45,341,000	14,478,000	19.35	7,639,000	15,576,000
1929	45,793,000	14,825,000	19.20	8,053,000	15,226,000
1930	45,091,000	13,932,000	11.55	6,697,000	13,021,000
1931	40,693,000	17,096,000	6.70	6,820,000	11,113,000
1932	35,939,000	13,002,000	8.95	8,754,000	12,506,000
1933	29,798,000	13,047,000	9.30	8,426,000	14,405,000
1934	26,987,000	9,637,000	13.35	7,552,000	13,680,000
1935*	28,480,000	11,489,000	10.75	4,800,000	11,314,000

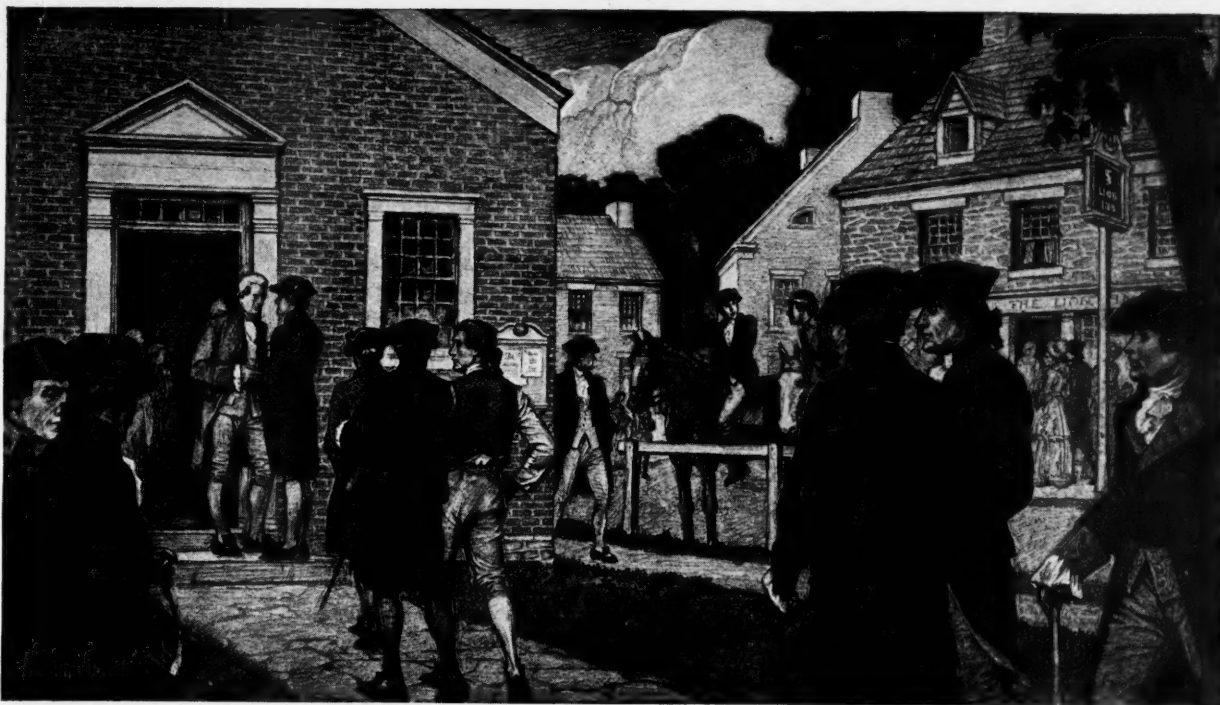
*Preliminary

A MASS OF FIGURES, surely; but they closely reflect twenty years of world history—war and peace, prosperity and depression, inflation and deflation. It is a story of cause and effect.

The 1921 drop in production, for example, followed a collapse in commodity prices. Cotton fell from 43 cents a pound in May, 1920, to less than 12 cents in April, 1921. But nature played a part also, and the 1921 yield per acre was only 127 pounds compared with 178 the year before, and with this year's estimated yield of 192 pounds.

Large crops followed, and increasing world consumption of our cotton, until the 1929 financial and economic collapse. Then came controlled production in the United States, which brought acreage down by 18 million acres between 1930 and 1934. This in turn brought the crop down and raised the price per pound. But the increased price was a will-o'-the-wisp, for the American cotton planter lost a large part of his foreign market.

Sources of data are: Department of Agriculture for acreage and production; N. Y. Cotton Exchange for exports and consumption; "Financial Chronicle" for price.



Town Meetings and Better Health

FOLLOWING the old Colonial custom of calling a town meeting when the safety and welfare of the citizens were at stake, the National Health Council will sponsor local town meetings throughout the country during October. You and other citizens will have an opportunity at these meetings to take stock of the activities which are being carried on to make your community a better and healthier place in which to live.

There is a direct relationship between the community and family health. Effective measures for improving sanitation and controlling disease depend upon enlightened public opinion. At these meetings you will learn the extent to which your community is giving you and your family a full measure of protection.

Your family should not be exposed needlessly



to disease. Local health officials and voluntary organizations are striving continually to improve health conditions, and they know what vital gaps there may be in the health activities of your community. Just what, if anything, should be done is a matter for you and your neighbors to decide.

Numerous communities can bear witness to the benefits—measured in terms of better health and happiness—which have been achieved through surveys of the local situation and education of the public. In some cases the water supply has been improved, in others adequate stress has been placed upon the diphtheria immunization of children, and in still others the public has supported wholeheartedly the preparation of proper health ordinances and their enforcement. Attend your town meeting—it may lead to better health for your community.

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER, PRESIDENT

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THE PULSE OF BUSINESS

Our index goes down, possibly a seasonable setback. But optimists often sweep such things aside; so that cheer has prevailed over gloom, notably in the stock-market. Commodities hold recent gains.

THESE PAGES in our last issue reflected optimism based upon an index of general business that had been rising for three successive weeks. Now we must record that the same index has been falling for four weeks. Barometers and thermometers are often that way.

For the week ended September 7 our statisticians record a business pulse of 65.2 per cent of normal. It was a drop from 70.2 per cent for the week ended August 10. That, incidentally, had been the highest point reached since 1931, except for a period in July and August of 1933 when stock-market exhilaration—following the bank holiday—carried the index upward toward a flop.

We search for explanation of the patient's recent relapse, and find no satisfactory one except that August is a vacation month and that the first week of September includes the Labor Day holiday.

It is interesting to note that while our index of business was falling, during late August and early September, another barometer in which we have some confidence continued to rise. This is the average price of common shares bought and sold on the New York Stock Exchange.

From a 1935 low in March, to September 11 as we write, exactly half a year, the stock market was consistently buoyant. Measured by the familiar Dow-Jones averages, thirty industrial shares advanced from 97 to 135. Twenty railroad shares advanced from 27 to 37; twenty utilities, from 15 to 27. The gain was 39 per cent for industrials, 37 per cent for railroads, and 80 per cent for harassed utilities.

Speculators and investors were not troubled, in mid-September, by the fact that a relentless index of general business had sagged for four consecutive weeks.

Our other index (page 54)—maintained weekly but printed here once a month only—is concerned with commodity prices. It is valuable al-

ways as showing the relative prosperity of producers; and in times like these it is expected also to be sensitive to the approach of inflation.

What do we find? That in June this commodity index was fluctuating mildly around 65 per cent of normal, while in mid-September it had been for five weeks either slightly above or slightly below 70 per cent of normal.

A rise of 5 full points, achieved in seven weeks during July and August, had been followed by a period

of remarkable steadiness. Borrowing a favorite phrase of stock-market analysts, the commodity market was consolidating its gains.

This index includes thirty-four commodities, and stability of the average sometimes hides individual gains and losses. Thus wheat on September 11 was selling at 95 cents in Chicago, whereas the price had been only 89 cents a month earlier. Cotton, in contrast, was 10.85 cents a pound on September 11 compared with 11.55 cents.

GENERAL BUSINESS INDICES

	Weight Factor	August 17	August 24	August 31	Sept. 7	Sept. 8 1934
FINANCIAL ACTIVITY						
Stock Sales, N. Y. Stock Exchange.....	2	44	47	44	41	14
Bond Sales, N. Y. Stock Exchange.....	1	117	136	134	127	132
Money Rates.....	4	12	12	12	12	20
New Financing.....	2	81	64	57	49	11
Bank Debits, N. Y. City.....	4	48	49	49	44	39
Deposit Circulation, N. Y. City.....	4	43	43	41	39	41
Index of FINANCIAL ACTIVITY.....	17	46	44	44	40	34
DISTRIBUTION						
Bank Debits, outside N. Y. City.....	10	74	76	73	72	64
Deposit Circulation, outside N. Y. City..	10	89	90	91	89	87
Merchandise Carloadings.....	11	68	68	69	70	67
Index of DISTRIBUTION.....	31	71	72	71	71	66
PRODUCTION						
Bituminous Coal.....	3	64	63	63	68	69
Crude Oil.....	3	107	106	108	108	97
Commodity Carloadings.....	8	57	57	57	60	60
Electric Power.....	7	79	79	79	78	73
Steel Production.....	9	66	66	67	67	26
Automobile Production.....	6	94	83	77	75	67
Construction Contracts.....	11	54	57	55	52	41
Cotton Consumption.....	5	120	126	116	90	58
Index of PRODUCTION.....	52	75	74	73	70	56
INDEX OF GENERAL BUSINESS						
	100	68.5	68.4	67.2	65.2	55.4

A COMPARATIVE record, for weeks ending with Saturday. The figures represent percentage of normal. The "distribution" items are all based upon an average for the years 1926-31; new financing, automobile production, and cotton consumption, upon 1927-31; and construction contracts upon 1928-32. All others use 1919-1931 as normal or 100.

Deposit circulation outside of New York City is not included in the index of distribution, but is allowed for in the final index of general business. Carloadings and coal data are always of the previous week. Electric power is adjusted for population growth, construction contracts for changing price level.

?

"BE CAREFUL! GEORGE SUSPECTS!"

IT was all too evident to those who found the body of Sir Michael that the man had been thrown and killed by his favorite horse.

There were the cruel marks of the horseshoe—indisputable evidence. "Accidental death" said the coroner's jury.

But Nicholas Goade of Scotland Yard, passing through the village on his holiday, discovered a hastily scribbled note in the nearby bushes—"Be Careful! George Suspects!"

Had this man an enemy then? Who was George? And what did he suspect?

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(Cash with order only \$5.)

Among the household pantry group, lard was down, but coffee, sugar, butter and eggs were up. Hogs—later to become ham, pork, and bacon—were selling at 11.55 cents a pound in mid-September. This was not much change from a month earlier, but it compares notably with a price of 3.85 cents in April of last year.

In the metals group our index registers slight gains in copper, lead, zinc, and steel scrap.

Where Cheer Lies

Steel production is a basic indicator which has now exuded optimism for ten weeks in a row. In our index its percentage of normal rests at 67 as we write, an uninterrupted rise from 52 per cent at the end of June. Translated into percentage of capacity, the latest reports show four consecutive weeks above 50 per cent.

The steel companies will have been out of the red during most of the third quarter of 1935. They look to the future with confidence, so much so that modernization programs are nowhere so widely in vogue as in steel plants. This in spite of the fact that government spending of five billion dollars is plainly going to peter out before it reaches heavy industries.

Electric light and power production continues to hit new highs. Every month this year has registered an increase over the corresponding month of 1934. And, believe it or not, every month in 1935 has been better than its counterpart in fabled 1929. Complete country-wide figures for July are available as we write. They show twelve months generation of electric power approaching 87 billion kilowatt hours, compared with 83 billion in the twelve preceding months. It was a 5 per cent gain. For the electric light and power industry business (but not profits) is at a new peak.

Crude oil production is a third of our rising barometers. During four weeks preceding this writing, daily production averaged 2,680,650 barrels. The same weeks of 1934 averaged 2,404,450 barrels.

Construction contracts continue to hold above 50 per cent of normal, for the fifth week as we write, although such a height had not been reached in any earlier week since the first one in January.

Backsliding Railroads

Loadings of revenue freight have kept quite consistently below last year. Totals for the first eight months are 19.8 million cars in 1935, and 20.2 million in 1934. A decrease of 34 per cent in the transportation of livestock is outstanding. The principal

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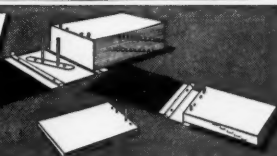
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increase is in forest products, exceeding 11 per cent.

More drastic, however, is the decline in railway earnings. Take July, the last month available: In July 1933 total earnings of Class I railroads approximated 65 million dollars. In July 1934, a better year for most businesses, railroad earnings fell short of 36 millions. In July 1935 they were less than 27 millions. While there is life there is hope. The railroads have been obliged to restore the wage cut of 1933, at a time when their gross revenues have not justified the move.

Seasonal Slipping

Star performer during the first half of 1935, the automobile industry has reached a quiet period that may be expected to last until new models are introduced. This is scheduled for November, rather than for January as always before, to test out the Government's plan to spread production more evenly throughout the year.

During the first eight months, ended with August, the motor industry turned out 2,973,000 passenger cars and trucks according to Cram's Reports. This was 650,000 more than in the same months of 1934. Indeed,

it was more cars than were produced in the entire year 1934.

More than two-thirds of these cars were made by General Motors and Ford. When we include Chrysler Corporation we find that 90 per cent of all 1935 cars have been turned out by the Big Three. The greatest gain, however, an eight-fold increase, is that of Packard with its new medium-priced model. International Harvester is far in the lead among simon-pure truck makers.

Another seasonal drop is found in cotton consumption, with our index number slipping from a peak of 126 per cent of normal for the week ended August 24 to 90 per cent two weeks later, as we write.

• • UNCLE SAM's own index of wholesale commodity prices (Bureau of Labor statistics, comprising 784 price series weighted according to importance) shows that what cost \$100 in September 1926 cost \$65.50 in the same month of 1932, \$69.50 in 1933, \$77.50 in 1934, and \$80.50 in this year 1935.

If rising costs for commodities are a sign, then the current inflationary movement has corrected less than half of the deflationary debacle that

reached its depth three years ago. But it has taken as long to make this half-recovery as it did to make the full journey down. And as every housewife knows, inflation has been especially evident in foodstuffs. This is a result of an obvious attempt to aid the farmer at the expense of city folk.

Employment

The ultimate goal of business recovery, whether governmentally planned or otherwise, is a return of the jobless to work that is not paid for out of taxes. Here the true barometer is not the output of steel or automobiles—accomplished with fewer men each year—but the number of idle workers. These figures, however, are discouraging.

Our Labor Department at Washington estimates that 126,000 fewer workers were carried on factory payrolls on June 15 (the report was published three months later) than on May 15. Measured in dollars, the shrinkage was \$4,300,000 in weekly wage.

Durable goods still lag, with employment at 69 per cent of 1923-25 normal, while non-durable goods—wearing apparel, food, printing, for example—are at 90 per cent of normal.

Factory employment on women's clothing, please note, reaches 108 per cent of normal, whereas on men's clothing it is only 86 per cent.

The poorest trade record (28 per cent of normal) is in the making of locomotives; the best record (416 per cent) is in aircraft.

It is interesting to note that factory employment of all kinds, averaged, was lower in June 1935 than it was in June 1934, though higher than in the same month of the preceding three years.

Employment in the executive service of the Government, of course, rises steadily. There were 618,000 on the regular payroll in January 1934 and 719,000 in June 1935. At this rate it would take only twenty years to absorb 2,000,000 idle.

Construction projects financed from PWA funds gave work to 414,000 men on June 15, a drop from 610,000 in one year. These are Government figures, with no explanation offered. The month under survey marks the end of the second year of PWA, and brings the total expended for workers alone, on the site, to \$458,000,000.

On emergency work, on June 15, 1935, Uncle Sam employed 2,021,000 additional persons. This type of work has been in existence only since March 1934, and reached a maximum in January last. In order to spread the relief, with the funds available, not more than 70 per cent of these are working at any given time.

COMMODITY PRICE INDEX

	1926—100		Sept. 11 1935		Aug. 14 1935		Sept. 12 1934	
	Price	Index	Price	Index	Price	Index	Price	Index
WHEAT: No. 2 Red, Chicago, bushel.....	.95½	61.9	.89	1.07½				
CORN: No. 2 Yellow, Chicago, bushel.....	.83½	114.2	.86	.81½				
RYE: No. 2, Chicago, bushel.....	.52	54.3	.46½	.84½				
OATS: No. 2 White, Chicago, bushel.....	.32½	75.4	.30½	.59½				
FLOUR: New York, barrel.....	8.075	95.9	7.675	7.625				
LARD: Chicago, lb.....	.1590	109.7	.1652	.0930				
COFFEE: Rio No. 7, New York, lb.....	.06½	35.7	.06½	.09½				
SUGAR: Raw, 96 test, New York, lb.....	.0345	79.7	.0318	.0286				
BUTTER: 92 Score, New York, lb.....	.26½	59.3	.24½	.24½				
EGGS: Firsts, New York, dozen.....	.27½	76.5	.26	.22½				
HOGS: Aver. most sales, Chicago, lb.....	.1155	93.6	.1160	.0620				
STEERS: Aver. most sales, Chicago, lb.....	.0855	89.7	.0875	.0630				
LAMBS: Aver. most sales, Chicago, lb.....	.10	72.8	.089	.0630				
HIDES: Heavy Native, Chicago, lb.....	.11½	83.3	.11½	.07½				
WOOL: Fine unwashed, Boston, lb.....	.31½	67.4	.31	.29½				
COTTON: Middling-upland, New York, lb.....	.1085	61.6	.1155	.1315				
SILK: Crack xx, 13-15, New York, lb.....	1.83	29.6	1.72	1.11				
RAYON: Viscose 150, 40, New York, lb.....	.55	30.4	.55	.65				
BURLAP: 40 inch, mill, New York, yd.....	.0560	60.9	.06	.0595				
RUBBER: Smoked sheets, New York, lb.....	.11½	23.9	.11½	.15½				
COPPER: Electrolytic, New York, lb.....	.08½	60.9	.08	.09				
LEAD: Spot, New York, lb.....	.0435	51.7	.042	.037				
ZINC: Spot, St. Louis, lb.....	.046	62.7	.045	.0415				
TIN: Straits spot, New York, lb.....	.48½	74.3	.49	.51½				
SILVER: Com'l bars, New York, oz.....	.65½	105.3	.65½	.49½				
STEEL SCRAP: Chicago, ton.....	12.50	92.6	12.25	8.75				
PIG IRON: Iron Age Composite, New York, ton.....	17.84	87.4	17.84	17.90				
COKE: Connellsville, ton.....	3.25	78.3	3.25	3.85				
GASOLINE: New York, gallon.....	1.005	50.5	.0955	.11½				
CRUDE OIL: 40 grav., Tulsa, barrel.....	1.08	57.3	1.08	1.08				
SULPHURIC ACID: 66 deg., New York, ton.....	15.50	38.8	15.50	15.50				
DENATURED ALCOHOL: New York, gallon.....	.35½	96.7	.35½	.34				
MALTING BARLEY: No. 2, New York, bushel.....	.83½	97.8	.82½	1.15½				
GRAIN ALCOHOL: New York, gallon.....	4.48	92.2	4.48	4.48				
WEIGHTED INDEX.....		70.5		69.6				62.6

Planning the New U. S. A.

(Continued from page 39)

organized local movements throughout the United States that converged upon the project (endorsed by Congress in 1926) to control the future development of the nation's capital city by the setting up of a National Capital Park and Planning Commission. It has concerned itself with the subject of national resources, and with the functioning of what is now the National Planning or Resources Board. The publications of the ACA, including an annual volume, have been of remarkable interest and value.

The Merged Societies

A smaller and more technical organization known as the National Conference on City Planning (within which there has been a still smaller body, the City Planning Institute) has existed since 1909. If a large planning volume were prepared—with hundreds of designs and pictorial illustrations—for the purpose of showing what has been done within the past quarter-century for the physical improvement and artistic embellishment of several hundred American cities and towns, the intelligent reader would be surprised and fascinated. As he turned the pages he would acquire cumulative impressions of our progress in town and city planning, not alone as theory but also as substantial achievement.

Such a volume would have to give credit to many professional designers and architects, whose names are well known in localities and in the wider circles of engineers, architects and experts. I will not attempt to list these useful men of our twentieth century, any more than I shall name the directors and advisory associates of the American Civic Association. They are forerunners of a new profession. They plan to give everybody the benefit of scientific progress.

I shall not forget, however, to announce the fact that these two organizations have now merged their resources, and have united with a new name and a superseding constitution. They have become the "American Planning and Civic Association".

It is a felicitous circumstance that Frederic A. Delano becomes president of the united society. With a successful business career behind him, as a high railroad official and a banking authority, Mr. Delano turned from private pursuits to give his time and trained judgment to the service of the community. As chairman of the Regional Plan of New York City and Environs, he earned a distinguished place among authorities upon the improvement and expansion of cities.

Accordingly, some years ago he was made Chairman of the Parks and Planning Commission of Washington, D. C.

When the policy of public works was adopted by the present Administration, with Secretary Ickes as Public Works Director, an advisory planning board was set up, of which Mr. Delano was made chairman. All projects of importance were subjected to the scrutiny of Mr. Delano and his capable associates. With his long experience, as a citizen of New York State who was engaged in western railroad administration, Mr. Delano knows the country in all of its physical and economic problems. He is a man of fine taste and artistic judgment, together with a due amount of business conservatism. The United States could have no better adviser than Mr. Delano, in its tremendous official adventures in the field of planning for public works of all kinds.

In the work of the American Civic Association, the successive presidents Mr. McFarland and Mr. Delano would not hesitate to render full praise to the efforts of intelligent and public-spirited women. Living in different parts of the country these women have done their share in furthering the Association's activities. They have carried almost the whole load in some forms of effort, such as those for roadside improvement, removal of improper billboards, and certain other things of equal importance.

The recognized leader among these women workers for civic progress has been Miss Harlean James. From experience in California and Hawaii after graduating at Leland Stanford University, Miss James devoted her energies to civic and social work as an adviser and executive. She was executive secretary of the United States Housing Corporation in 1918, having had a similar office under the National Council of Defence in 1917, and was also general manager of the Government hotels at Washington, which cared for women workers of the war and post-war years. She became executive secretary of the American Civic Association in 1920.

Miss James was one of the principal organizers of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership in the Hoover administration. In several other societies, having similar objects of educational and social welfare, Miss James is recognized as a foremost adviser. Her pen has been constantly active, and she is the author of many articles and several volumes, including a treatise published in 1926 on "Land Planning in the United States for the City, State, and Nation".



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The Camera Finds New Uses

(Continued from page 33)

records, governmental investigation data, press association dispatches, family papers, regional archives, all the raw stuff of research, can be easily and cheaply photographed, and preserved with small risk of deterioration.

Fifty years ago the quality of paper began to deteriorate. And fifty years ago the quantity of records made by mankind began to increase. More records, crumbling sooner.

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A word as to the history and development of the process. A device to throw enlarged images of micro-prints on a screen was shown at the Brussels Exposition in 1910. It attracted little attention and no further developments were made, apparently, for about a dozen years. Then, as the Leica camera came into use in Europe for copying documents, various attempts were made to produce reading devices for the film. In 1926 M. Goldschmidt, a Belgian, devised one which projected the image onto a plate. The Bausch & Lomb Company, Spencer Lens Company, E. Leitz Company, and others made and sold projectors for throwing enlarged micro-prints on a screen.

Within the past few years Lloyd B. Kennedy, of Warren, Ohio, and the Filmograph Company, of Seattle, have marketed projectors for reading film copies of legal documents and the Recordak Corporation, an Eastman Kodak subsidiary, one for reading cancelled bank checks and statements. The latter has been widely sold.

In 1932 Dr. L. Bendikson, in charge of photographic reproduction at the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California (a suburb of Los Angeles), became interested in the problem. Comparatively isolated from other research institutions, with possibly more volumes on its shelves which are not available elsewhere than any other institution in the country, the solution of the problem would be of peculiar value to Dr. Bendikson and the Huntington Library.

The reading apparatus then in use was cumbersome and expensive. Dr. Bendikson began a series of experiments which have culminated in the card-system described briefly at the beginning of this article. Using a microscope with a magnification of about seven diameters, fitted with two eye-pieces and equipped with an adjustable swinging stand instead of

the usual stable base, he has devised a film-reading instrument which can be used for hours at a time without fatigue or inconvenience.

Last winter the Recordak Corporation marketed the first projector designed (in this country at least) for library usage. It will project the micro-photographs on a 35mm or 16mm film, in either short strips or long rolls, onto a light-absorbing opaque plate. Film images may be projected either sideways or lengthwise, permitting the reading of books photographed sideways with two pages on a frame.

Special cameras have been devised for film-copying in quantity. The Library of Congress is using one developed by Dr. R. H. Draeger of the Navy Medical School. It recently copied 66,000 manuscripts from State Department archives, making them available to scholars everywhere and guaranteeing their permanent preservation. The Recordak Corporation has in process of development a camera for copying bound volumes on a large scale. It has already in use at Rochester a camera which photographs, on 35mm film, newspaper sheets that are fed to it much as paper is fed to a cylinder press, at the rate of thirty a minute.

The New York Times of the war years, 1914-1918, is to be made available in micro-prints, by Recordak, at a cost of about \$600 for the five years. Smaller Recordaks can be rented by any library. Thirty-two hundred pages the size of those of the *Congressional Record* can be reproduced on a 100-foot roll of film, for \$5.50.

NRA and AAA proceedings, with supporting data such as letters, telegrams, lawyers' briefs, case studies, charts, and statistical tables, 286,000 pages in all, were recently copied, at a cost of an eighth of a cent a page. This work was done for a score of research institutions by T. R. Schellenberg, of the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

The University of Chicago recently resolved to keep a permanent file of twenty-five leading newspapers of the world, and is considering the advisability of preserving them through micro-photography. Dr. A. F. Kuhlman, its librarian, polled university librarians for their views and found them anxious to cooperate but conservatively awaiting impending improvements of present processes.

The incunabula of the micro-photograph are now in the making.

At Moscow—Red to Pink

(Continued from page 28)

cialists of Leon Blum and with the petty-bourgeois Radical party of Edouard Daladier. This popular front is opposed to the furiously fascist *Croix de Feu* of Colonel de la Rocque, and affiliated bodies, which threaten a militant dictatorship on Italian lines. The Third International, from Moscow, urges French communists to support the democratic French government to the last ditch. Stalin, in addition, forbids French communists to sabotage the French army in case of war against fascist Germany, although sabotage in wartime is an essential part of communist tactics. The Russian dictator counts heavily on bourgeois *poilus*.

The Third International has learned a lesson from Germany. There the communists fought the tolerant republic so hard that in 1933 the door was opened to Hitler fascism. Had German communists and liberals united against the brownshirts, Hitler today would doubtless be in jail or exile or oblivion. Coöperation might have meant that the German democratic republic, and also the Italian constitutional monarchy, would still be in existence.

What Stalin Did

Josef Stalin is a complete realist. In 1926 he ousted his rival Leon Trotsky, brilliant apostle of world revolution, for Stalin has always believed in the quiet consolidation of communism at home. Stalin poured out money for domestic five-year plans, whereas Trotsky would have spent it on the world-wide dissemination of red propaganda. Trotsky is still in exile, and Russia's adherence to the League of Nations and her alliance with France have horrified him. It was his belief that Russia could not exist unless the rest of the world went communist, whereas Stalin is strictly home-minded and influential in the radically changed viewpoint of the Third International. American communists have even been requested, temporarily, to support President Roosevelt; while the scanty British communists have been urged into loyalty to the local Labor party. The French revolution, and the American, were effected by proletariat and bourgeois combined; and the Third International—under stress—has retreated to the tactics of the eighteenth century, and wisely so.

Meanwhile Soviet Russia herself is slowly going bourgeois in many respects. Divorce is being curtailed, and abortion is under suspicion. Children are now urged to respect

their parents, and the family is praised by authorities (Stalin is notably domestic). "Russian fatherland" is mentioned in speeches much more frequently than the "working-class of the world". As to economics, Russia is state-capitalist rather than communist, wages are steeply graded, and there are state bond issues which bear interest both at home and abroad.

Last Easter Sunday, crowds of old folks went to church in Moscow without interference and Orthodox priests preached full blast. All around, the reds are turning into pinks. Partly it is a natural fading-out; partly the rise of a threatening fascist Germany which hates Soviet Russia and wishes to colonize the rich granary of her Ukraine. The Russian red army has been jacked up from 600,000 men to a million, and planes, guns, and tanks are of the latest models. There now is less interest in freeing Japanese workers than in resisting the inroads of aggressive Japanese fascism.

The vast Union of Soviet Socialist Republics now consists of seven constituent states. These are Great Russia (population, 114 million); Little Russia or the Ukraine (32 million); White Russia (5 million); Transcaucasia (7 million); Uzbek (5 million); Turcoman (1 million); and Tadzhik (1 million). Under the Russian constitution, each state is guaranteed the right of secession. The Great Russian state contains Leninograd, Moscow, and the vast expanse of Siberia. It covers 93 percent of the total area of the U.S.S.R.

The Russian government is becoming increasingly democratic. The secret ballot has been introduced, a direct system of elections has taken the place of a very indirect one, and city workers and country peasants will now have equal representation in parliament. Formerly the radical workers had five times as many delegates as the more conservative countrymen. Thus the vaunted dictatorship of the proletariat is turning to bourgeois ways.

Karl Marx, who was often pessimistic, once growled out: "I sowed dragons' teeth, and I reaped fleas." With Max Litvinov, Russian foreign minister, proudly officiating as president of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, it would seem that the old founding-father was right. For the rest of the world this turn of events is an undisguised blessing. Soviet Russia embraces nearly a seventh of the globe, and with her interlocking Third International she is capable of creating serious international problems.



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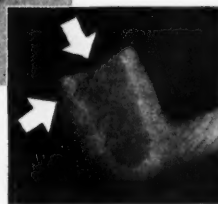


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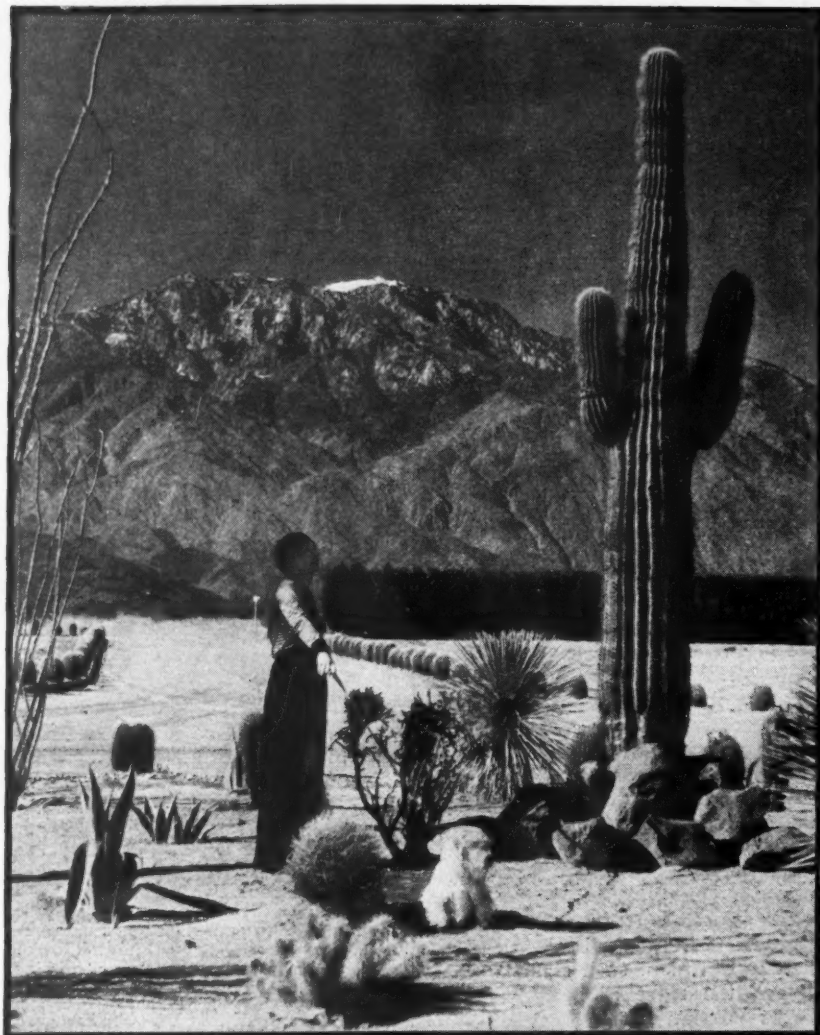
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Our Great West is a veritable happy hunting ground for those on interest and pleasure bent. Here is an account of some sunny attractions.

WESTWARD TREK

THERE ARE golden girls in the golden west, and golden sunsets and Golden Gates. They aren't very far away from the maddened marts of Manhattan, or the boldish boisterousness of Boston, or the philosophical phidlings of Philadelphia. Let's take a short look at the land of the setting sun, out there where men are men and spaces are open, and where there are fun and leisure and climatics, and

all the setups for a royal good time.

In San Diego, for instance, is the California Pacific International Exposition—America's "fair of the age". It is a \$20,000,000 treat, attended by well over 3 million people since last May. Some 200,000 trippers took it in over one week-end. Situated in Balboa Park, there are 1,400 acres of forest and flowers almost in mid-city. To the west is the blue Pacific Ocean.

To the south are the hazy mountains of nearby Mexico. To the east are the snowy-capped Cuyamacas. Here is true panorama. Ancient Maya temples vie with modernistic structures, a la Stuttgart or Rotterdam, of steel and glass.

The history-of-travel section shows a story running from ox-carts, not so bad in their bumpy day, down to latest space-killers of the inventive twentieth-century mind. Better housing, education, food, beverages are displayed to advantage; colors are dazzling; illumination hits you, pleasantly enough, in the eye. There is a zoo with 2,500 birds, beasts, and crawly things, and a Palace of Natural History with 400,000 "studies". Just nature in the raw—always a sweet thing when fixed to suit your taste.

What's in San Diego

The Palace of Fine Arts has rare masterpieces, and the Outdoor Organ and Music Bowl are there for everyone with ears to hear. Gardens cover 25 acres, and a midway carries almost a mile of assorted amusements. All branches of state and federal government may be seen, as if politically at work. For belles and flappers stands a House of Charm, and for their beaus and life-pals there is a Palace of Electricity with additional shocks. Snap-shooters flock to the Palace of Photography. Spanish renaissance architecture is a something, incidentally, in itself. The exposition is scheduled to end by November 11, but has been such a howling success that it may be continued for a longer period. See the primitive Spanish Village and the Gold Gulch, cosmopolis of gold-rush forty-niners. The End of the Trail presents hundreds of southwestern Indians—and so forth. Try it; at an average summer temperature of 67, and an average winter ditto of 55, under azure skies and that California sunshine which this lucky writer can guarantee as authentic.

And besides the exposition, California offers a lot of other things. She is a versatile mistress. In the magnificent Yosemite national park are famous winter sports—skiing, skating rinks, equipment of all sorts, carnivals, hockey, dog teams, curling, toboggans. Yosemite is 205 miles from dignified, picturesque San Francisco, and 371 miles from that lively Los Angeles. All-Year Highway up from Merced, the junction, is 83 miles long—swell motoring—and so laid that it's in high gear. Yosemite covers 1,176 square miles!

Some other California charmers: Hollywood, cinema center of the world and a rare sight to see. Pasadena, with its Rose Bowl for cham-

pionship football on New Year's Day. Catalina Island, "transparent" resort extraordinary with big fish. The empire of oranges, around Riverside—part of a \$100,000,000 crop. San Francisco's Golden Gate, her Chinatown, her old-world charm and classic tradition, so much like London. Trips over into Mexico, to Tia Juana or Agua Caliente, easily arranged and lots of fun.

Out west there are other places too, and in plenty. For instance, the Yellowstone National Park up in a corner of Wyoming. Yellowstone Park covers 3,438 square miles, while Yellowstone Lake is 20 miles long and 15 miles across, filled with fighting trout. Fine hotels are there and tourist camps and spouting geysers. Old Faithful, for instance. There are pet bears to play with and feed, ghostly rock formations, petrified forests, uncanny caverns that hiss and bellow at you, a mountain full of black glass, boiling lakes that erupt steam. Ride to the top of Mt. Washburn—some 10,318 feet. To the south looms up the mighty Teton mountain range. View the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River and get a scenic thrill. Wild life is all over the place, cute, fancy, or unadorned.

"Down under" is Arizona, health paradise and chip of the old southwest. Tucson was an Indian pueblo founded around 1552, about three centuries older than Chicago. Just 336 days are sunny every year, and Tucson altitude is 2,400 feet up. The great United States Veterans Hospital is here, and also swimming, golf and tennis, polo, riding, fishing, and hunting. Dude and guest ranches abound in the vicinity, and the road to health and strength is made easy by a glorious round of good times.

Super-Spectacles

Only 28 miles southeast of Tucson is the largest underground cavern in the world. Inside is an Aladdin's wonderland of weird shapes and colors. Crystal palace, cathedral, elephant head, king-on-throne, all are there, formed by nature. The Grand Canyon of Arizona goes down 7,000 feet, with the Colorado River winding away like a typewriter ribbon at the bottom. Hopi Indians are the descendants of ancient Aztecs, who battled with Spaniards in the sixteenth century, and were highly civilized till the ruthless crusaders arrived. Here stalk the ghosts of Wild West badmen and highwaymen who once "operated" without the grace of modern highways.

Farthest west of all lies Uncle Sam's treasure trove—Hawaii. Hence have come the ubiquitous ukulele, the haunting Hawaiian music, and ex-

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Left — A golfing scene in the Tidewater country.
Center—The Natural Bridge.
Below — Colonial Williamsburg.

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SOUTHERN PACIFIC

pert swim-technique. Here are delightful brown natives, romantic memories and spots, and the beach at Waikiki, celebrated in song and story. San Francisco and Los Angeles are almost equidistant as hopping-off points for Honolulu, which with its Buddhist and Shinto shrines is cosmopolitan as Singapore, as somebody said. Watch the hula-hula dance get performed by grass-skirt girlies. These Hawaiian islands stretch out for about 400 miles. Hawaii proper is the largest one of the group, with Hilo as its port. Oahu island boasts

wondrous Honolulu, where meet the east and west in a delightful blend that embittered Kipling never even suspected. Maui, the valley isle, is noted for Haleakala, a huge ex-volcano; while Kauai is the garden island, with beautifully colored little "grand canyons". There are 350,000 Hawaiians of 30 races for you to discover. The trip out varies from 4 to 6½ days by smooth and happy boat-trip under south-sea skies, lolling along to soothing south-sea melodies. And so—Aloha to you, and you, and you!

As Mussolini Strikes

(Continued from page 44)

The sultan could guarantee safety in his own dominions, but no white men had ever come alive through the territory of the sultan of Biru to the north. By cleverly faking a "paper of government," permission was obtained to proceed and a guide was supplied. Within a few hours after the interview, and before they had broken camp where Yaio had deigned to visit them, one of their native escorts was murdered and mutilated to provide indispensable trophies which every self-respecting Danakiler considers essential male adornment, and which he wears always on a thong around his neck.

A Doomed Ruler?

If Haile Selassie actually offered to sell Aussa to Italy (the reports appeared only in dispatches from Addis Ababa and were not confirmed from Europe), he was disposing of the only economic asset of the Danakil now known except some potash salts at the northern end. Delivery would be another matter. If Mussolini makes his conquest of Ethiopia complete a desert expedition is essential; for Aussa is completely surrounded by desert. Poor Mohammad Yaio will make what resistance he can with his feudal army and medieval cavalry, but if white troops can reach him he is doomed as an independent ruler.

If the assumption that the Italian high command, in view of the exigencies of permanent and rapid transport, will immediately set about the development of a Danakil approach, Aussa will be one of the first districts to fall. This will have little effect on the problem as a whole, since Selassie's mandate runs only into the western fringes of the Danakil. He could no more deliver Aussa than the island of Cuba. If Italy should ignore the Danakil and proceed along the traditional route, Aussa may re-

tain its isolation and independence for many years.

It is significant that no army of outsiders has ever penetrated beyond the eastern edge of the plateau; and that has been due to no lack of effort. Zula is the ancient Adulis, representing one of the attempts at conquest of Ptolemy Euergetes about 240 B. C. Turk, Arab, and Egyptian have all at various times made incursions which have never succeeded in passing far beyond the borders of this formidable country. A new approach is not only suggested by the lessons of history, but made imperative by the difficulties of the problem and the modern equipment available.

The censorship has been effective in smothering information as to activities around the disembarkation points of Annesley Bay. Has anything been done to improve the harbor of Mersa Fatima? Native dhows have been wont to load potash here for Massaua, and from this little port a railway runs forty miles southwest to the Eritrean outpost of Kukulli. This town, near the potash mines, lies at the entrance to the Danakil depression and would be an ideal jumping-off place for a motor road to the south.

Only two white men may now be alive who have seen the country through which such a road would have to be traced. Nesbitt died in an airplane accident in Switzerland only a few weeks ago. The results of his epic journey are available and the Italian members of the party, T. Pastori and G. Rosina, are perhaps at this moment in confidential positions with the Italian commanders.

The social and economic fabric of Italy cannot withstand a long war. Quick action demands rapid transport, which can only be obtained by development of a route through the Danakil. Strange names, and places unheard of, may be seen in the news as this unknown country assumes importance.

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Write Jokes!

(Continued from page 31)

on the maid telling him that she was going to give her mistress warning as she kept scolding her from morning till night—"Happy girl," said the master, "I wish I could give her warning too."

There is always the question of national characteristics expressed in humor: Scotch, Irish, Jewish, etc. It is somewhat difficult to place this type humor today, for the jokes seldom spring from the people or nationalities themselves, as their songs and legends and dances do. Rather they are jokes on a nationality. Often the dialect is more important and typical than the joke as such. A joke about a stingy person, told in a Scotch burr, or about a Scotchman, would follow current tradition or prejudice. The Irish are regarded as a witty race, but Irish jokes of the vaudeville stage depended for half of their punch upon the brogue and get-up of the comedian telling the yarn.

Again, the Jewish joke is difficult to describe as a typical bit of Jewish humor. The tendency seems to be to pick out traits or alleged characteristics, then to get jokes revolving about such traits, and clothe them in ready-made dialect.

Metamorphosis

Jokes change and are altered as they go the rounds. An Italian may hear a joke. He changes the characters to what he considers Irish types, and tells it to an Irish friend. The son of Erin, after laughing roundly or thrashing the Italian soundly, as the spirit moves him, passes it on to a Swedish acquaintance as a Jewish joke. And so it goes. The story of the Scotchman whose wife died is an example. The good woman fell ill and the attending physician pronounced her dead. As the coffin was being carried into the church, it was knocked against a pillar. The woman came back to consciousness and was reinstated in this life. Thirty years later she died. The husband, seeing that the coffin was nearing the pillar, said: "Kerrful, mon, don't knock it again."

This type joke could be easily "twisted" to suit many nationalities. Offense is sometimes taken by the nationals represented, but this is often avoided in having the joke told by one of the race involved—a Jewish joke by a Jewish comedian.

Laughter is universal and the language of all peoples. Good, bad, rich, poor, Republican, Democrat, Hoover and Roosevelt, all of us laugh.

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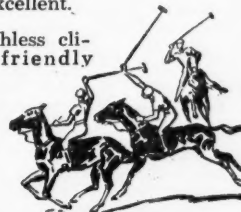


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The Social Security Program

(Continued from page 26)

is a meaningless courtesy, because the Act stipulates eight conditions to which each state law must conform, or else 90 per cent of the tax paid by its employers will not be transferred to the state fund.

The conditions laid down for federal recognition of state unemployment compensation laws are:

1. That compensation be paid through public employment offices in the state.

2. That no unemployment benefit shall be paid until two years after contributions are required.

3. That all money received by the state unemployment fund shall be paid over to the U. S. Treasury immediately upon its receipt.

4. That all money returned by the Government to a state shall be used by the state only in payment of compensation exclusive of administration expense.

5. That compensation shall not be denied to an eligible employee if he refuses to accept work to fill a position made vacant by a strike or lock-out.

6. That compensation shall not be denied to an eligible employee if he refuses to accept work, when wages, hours and other conditions offered are less favorable than those prevailing in the locality.

7. That compensation shall not be denied to an eligible employee if, as a condition of employment, he is required to join a company union or prevented from joining a bona fide labor organization.

8. That the rights and privileges conferred by such state law shall be subject to the power of the legislature to amend or repeal it.

Thus we do not have a national unemployment reserve plan; we will have forty-eight plans, provided all the states conform. This is a huge administrative mistake, cumbersome to the federal Government, to the states, and to all employers who operate in several states.

But the most serious defect in the unemployment program is that the Security Act requires the states to do what is not physically possible. It expects the states to require employers to set up a fund to pay reasonable benefits to the unemployed. This cannot be done. It would be within the limits of possibility to require employers and employees jointly during four or five good years to create a fund to provide reasonable protection against occasional or seasonal unemployment to the extent of three or six months or even one year. If all industries were required to adopt such a plan, it would protect roughly

about two million of our workmen.

The average number occasionally unemployed during the typical period 1920 to 1929, inclusive, was 2,338,000. This is a normal amount of unemployment, necessary as a reserve labor force for the efficient conduct of industry. It occurs as a consequence of the normal operation of business and is therefore a proper charge against production costs. It is quite feasible for employers and employees jointly to create a fund to cover this need.

As to the huge volume of excess unemployment, an additional eight or ten millions—which occurs not in consequence of the natural operations of business, but as a result of the breakdown of our whole industrial system—it is not only unfair to put this burden on industry but physically impossible for industry to carry it. In 1928 the annual payroll of one of our leading industries was \$70,000,000; in 1932 it was \$28,000,000. It would be impossible to create a reserve fund to protect the excess volume of the unemployed.


What, then, shall we do? The answer seems to me to be clear. We must furnish a means of livelihood to the excess number of the unemployed employables, who are displaced from industry and cannot be reabsorbed in hard times. No other answer is possible unless we support these workmen in idleness at public expense. Any provision in the Security Act to furnish livelihood for displaced workers glares by its absence. And yet this is our paramount task.

I am convinced there is a definite practical way of furnishing such means of livelihood and at no public expense or increase in the federal tax rate. The best insurance against unemployment is employment, and with an excess number of unemployed no other kind of insurance is possible.


Lincoln's Solution

The above answer to this problem is the same as that which Abraham Lincoln made to it in May, 1862, when he secured the passage of the Homestead Act. By this law 160 acres of public land were made available to any citizen, and at the end of five years he could own them by paying \$1.25 an acre. This act of Lincoln's proved to be a national boon of the first magnitude, opening a way of escape for displaced workers in depression periods.

A generation before the Homestead Act, the open lands of the West, without Government help, served the same purpose conspicuously in a national crisis. It was in what is called



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the industrial revolution, lasting fifteen years beginning in 1834, that many thousands of dislocated citizens of the East were thus enabled to find a refuge and a livelihood on homesteads in the West.

True, our public lands for distribution are now exhausted. But almost endless land on feasible terms is available in every section of the nation. The present parallel to Lincoln's Homestead Act is the Substitute Social Security Act here proposed, providing for the self-supporting homestead village, organized on the basis not of subsistence but of livelihood. It opens the road leading to the abolition of unemployment as a problem. We cannot afford to choose a lesser goal.

I submit, therefore, that the social security program needs not only amendment, but reconstruction and enlargement. I do so as a detached and unbiased social engineer, representing no special interest of any kind, considering only what is best for employers, employees, and the nation.

To those who agree, it will be interesting news that a bill, which embodies the revisions and amendments here suggested, will be introduced in Congress next January. A few months ago I was requested by a member of the Senate Finance Committee to appear at the hearings on the Security bill. During my statement two other members of the committee asked me to prepare a bill as a substitute for those parts of the bill then pending which dealt with old age and unemployment hazards in industry. I drafted such a substitute bill.

Sidetracked

It was introduced in the Senate by Senator George of Georgia and referred to the Finance Committee. When the committee voted on the two bills, the substitute bill lost by a tie vote. This carried the privilege of taking the substitute measure to the floor of the Senate. By that time the Senate was suffering from mental fatigue, due to an overcrowded docket

and extreme heat. It was deemed wise not to press the substitute but to carry it over to the next session.

As the Security Act now stands, the probability is that what happened to NRA will happen to it: First it will break down of its own weight, because it seems physically impossible (certainly impossible efficiently) to administer in Washington the mountainous mass of details involved in operating from one place the pension and unemployment plans of all the industries in the nation. Second, after its breakdown it probably will be declared unconstitutional for reasons stated by the Supreme Court when it vetoed the Railroad Pension Act.

So probable do these two events seem, that employers now operating their own plans would do wisely to continue them until it is definitely known whether the present law is approved. They will be required to pay the federal tax, but it will be returned if the Government plan is discontinued.

After the Four Billions?

(Continued from page 21)

to turn on future relief policy. Mr. Roosevelt faces the necessity of going back to Congress next winter, in the heat of a cry for economy, to ask for more funds for relief.

What is the outlook? Are we to be doomed to go on indefinitely spending nearly \$5,000,000,000 a year for relief, which at most will return a miscellaneous array of public gadgets that are in no sense necessary to us? This question presses because of the fact that unemployment has shown little decline in spite of a considerable business expansion. This fall business statistics indicated activity close to 90 per cent of normal. Yet unemployment was little, if any, less than a year ago and some estimates place it slightly higher. Seemingly it would indicate that we are destined to continue supporting considerable numbers of the population either on a straight dole or on made work.

One Explanation

However, those who have studied this situation are not so pessimistic. Failure of unemployment to decline proportionately to the increase in business activity is accounted for partly, some believe, by the fact that employees hitherto employed part-time have been put back on full time, that layoffs have been curtailed, plant hours lengthened. Therefore, increased output and increased manpower have not required a proportionate amount of entirely new help. Some students of unemployment believe this process has about reached its limit, and that further business expansion will show greater reemployment proportionately than heretofore.

How much industry has introduced labor-saving equipment during the depression is uncertain. In some industries, such as steel, it is known that large amounts of hand labor have been eliminated. The full effect of this upon reemployment will not be known for some time to come.

But it is a conservative expectation that further business expansion will reduce the unemployment load.

Also, as reemployment grows, the relief problem declines more than proportionately. Relatives again take over some of the burden. Private charity and relief agencies can expect more funds. State revenues will increase as a result of improved conditions, and the federal Government can shift more of the residue back to the states and local communities.

If these possibilities are canvassed thoroughly and pressure is put on at Washington next winter, the prospect is that Mr. Roosevelt can squeeze a tremendous amount of water out of relief and to that extent reduce the annual deficit.

It is not too much to hope that within a year or two the federal Government's part in the unemployment burden can be carried largely through the Civilian Conservation Corps. While one of the more expensive forms of relief, this is one of the most constructive, economically and socially. It has given thousands of city youths the benefit of healthful outdoor work. It has taught them useful occupations. It has contributed to permanent conservation work of genuine national benefit. Here is the equivalent of a large standing army, putting its time into useful work instead of shining buttons and marching on parade grounds.

In the state of Delaware, for instance, CCC camps have taken in

about 1,000 young men from the state. For two years they have been working on the mosquitoes. The pest has been virtually exterminated. Where two years ago residents were driven indoors in late afternoon by clouds of mosquitoes, now one can go for weeks without ever hearing or feeling one. In addition to the gain in physical comfort, the extermination of the mosquito has increased the milk production of dairy herds; cattle can now feed on marsh grass; hay production has increased; muskrat colonies, a source of considerable income, have multiplied; and wild life is more plentiful. This work has cost the federal Government about \$400,000 a year. The state guarantees to take over and provide maintenance which will cost about \$50,000 a year.

Permanent Problem

There will always be some unemployment slack, even at peak periods, and there will always be constructive conservation work to be done. The CCC provides a useful means of meeting these needs. Mr. Roosevelt contemplates making it permanent.

Then it is reasonable to count upon the new social security legislation to aid, with the states participating, in caring for the class of unemployables incapacitated by age.

These considerations, plus the fact that there always will be federal work to be done, makes it seem reasonable that within the near future the federal Government, without forcing anyone to starve, can materially reduce the burden of relief expenditures and thus check the mounting debt.

But it can only be done by firm determination and by giving every encouragement to reviving industry.

Cotton's Changing Position

(Continued from page 50)

a safeguard against drastic decline, the Southern producer has the opportunity to receive approximately 12 cents for his cotton.

To receive the advantage of the loan and the benefit of the subsidy, the producer will be called upon to sign a contract agreeing to cooperate with the Department of Agriculture in such policies as it may institute for crop control for the new season.

This new loan policy, it is generally believed, will afford assurance of a practically "free market" and enable merchants to sell American cotton in competition with other

growths. In the first place, they will be able to sell on practically a competitive basis. In addition it should be pointed out that stocks of American cotton (possessing uniformity of grade and staple that makes it particularly attractive to world spinners) have been reduced to a virtual minimum. Even a moderate tendency toward replenishment will call for a substantial increase in exports.

At this writing it looks as if the crop would be in the neighborhood of 11,500,000 bales. However, that much American cotton could be absorbed readily at fair prices.

In conclusion it should be stated

that Government holdings—in the neighborhood of 5,000,000 bales—will be kept off the market; and the only available supply, unless prices should rise above 13 cents, would be represented by this season's production.

One problem that lurks in the background concerns the fate of the processing tax, which will come up for consideration before the Supreme Court some time this autumn. The removal of the tax, however, will not affect the use of cotton unfavorably. In fact, the elimination of this levy of 4.2 cents per pound should go far toward stimulating consumption of cotton by our American textile industry.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

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Biography

War Memoirs of Robert Lansing: The late secretary of state under Woodrow Wilson, a stout reactionary, died in 1928 before these memoirs were finished. Very valuable as a 400 pp. wartime record, and a work that makes one distrust the famous statesman who compiled them. A study in ultra-anglophilism. (Bobbs, Merrill, \$3.50.)

Huey Long, by Forrest Davis: A candid biography of the late dictator of the swamps and bayous, timely because of the excited talk raised by his assassination. The Unknown Doctor who did the deed now takes his place with Booth, Corday, Brutus, and the other idealistic murderers of history. (Dodge, \$2.50.)

Mark Twain, by Edward Wagenknecht: "Best Mark Twain book that is likely to come along for many a year," says Albert Bigelow Paine, who ought to know. There are three sections, on Mark Twain, Mr. Samuel L. Clemens, and the Sage of Redding. Delightfully written, on the hundredth anniversary—November 30, 1935—of the birth of the American humorist. (Yale University Press, \$3.)

The Road to Glory, by F. Britten Austin: The novelized story of young Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy, beginning 1796 as he is sent in by the grafting Directory. Told by England's leading historical fictionalist, who is an acknowledged authority on military tactics and affairs. Excellent. (Stokes, \$2.50.)

Our Lords and Masters, by an unofficial observer: Mainly interesting European gossip. Some 25 men rule the world—King George, Pope Pius, Trotsky, Gandhi, Hirohito, Baldwin, Hoare, Tardieu, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Roosevelt, Kemal, Blomberg, Araki, Voroshilov, Kai-shek, Norman, Reading, Rothschild, Schneider, Schacht, Morgan, Rockefeller Jr., Deterding! (Simon and Shuster, \$3.50.)

Forty Years—Forty Millions, by George Britt: The career of Frank A. Munsey, "cold, ambitious, amazing," is related by a young journalist who knows his subject through research rather than through personal contact. Munsey is best remembered for the way he bought and destroyed New York newspapers, late in life.

He bought the *Press* in 1912 for \$1,000,000. He bought the *Sun*, morning and evening, in 1916 for \$2,468,000 and killed the *Press*. He bought the *Herald* in 1920 for \$4,000,000. Soon afterward he killed the morning *Sun*. In 1923 he bought the evening *Globe* for \$2,000,000, and merged it with the evening *Sun*. In 1924 he bought the evening *Mail*, for \$2,200,000, and merged it with the *Telegram*.

In all, six New York papers had been slain, to use the author's word. And there were other adventures in journalism, in Washington and Boston. The millions had come through from the grocery business, from magazine publishing, from Wall Street speculation. And when the man died he left his fortune to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Farrar & Rinehart, \$3.)

Will Rogers, by P. J. O'Brien: The late prince of wit and wisdom, his boyhood days, bread and circuses, vaudeville, Ziegfeldism, starship, family life, anecdotes, the tragic end—in short, complete treatment which will delight a vast number of the appreciative *Populus Americanus*. (Winston, \$1.)

The Lees of Virginia, by Burton J. Hendrick: There were the Adamsses of Massachusetts and the Carnots of France and the Roosevelts of New York and a dozen British broods like the Haldanes and Churchills. But, all in all, the Lee legion were an interesting outfit, including Lighthorse Harry and Robert E. They were tied up with the Washingtons, and swarms of other colonial first-families, and are well worth reading about. (Little, Brown, \$3.75.)

REVIEW OF REVIEWS, November, 1935. Volume XCII, Number 5. REVIEW OF REVIEWS is published monthly by The Review of Reviews Corporation at 233 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter April 27, 1934, at the post-office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3rd, 1879. Additional entry at Dunellen, N. J. Subscription rates: One year, \$3; two years, \$4.50. Printed in the United States. Copyright, 1935.



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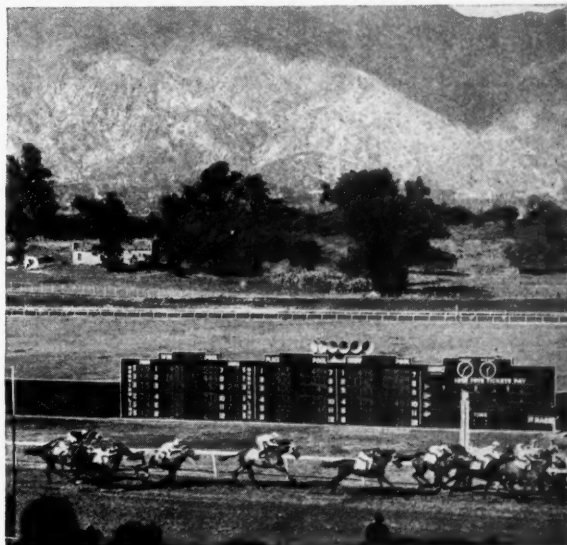
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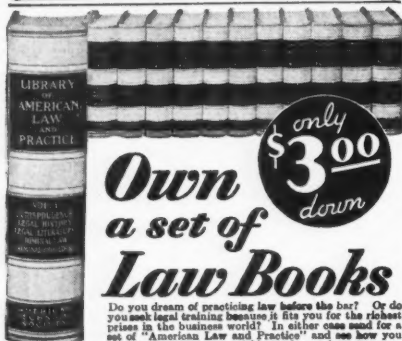
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Notes as Vice-President, by Charles G. Dawes: This covers the years 1928 and 1929, taking up the ramified activities and reflections of the V.P. under Mr. Coolidge. The book rambles over a deal of ground without too much organization, and this is one of its chief merits and charms. Charlie D. has always been a popular figure, with that underslung pipe, and his book tends to show why. (Little, Brown, \$3.)

"King Lehr" and the Gilded Age, by Elizabeth Drexel Lehr. A believe-it-or-not picture of what the Four Hundred used to do when Society was Society with plenty of gilded cash. Lehr was wonderboy of the higher-ups, and this tale is told by his widow. They'd spend \$200,000 on a single party! Read about it. (Lippincott, \$3.)

The Great Commodore, by Edward M. Barrows: The biography of Matthew Calbraith Perry, who opened up Japan in 1853 to western civilization and trade, with a full complement of American naval data-lore. Here is a valuable contribution to our history, told by a thoroughly readable expert with a sense of humor. (Bobbs, Merrill, \$3.75.)

Politics

Freedom of the Press, by George Seldes: Journalism has to combat three sources of censorship. These are governments, advertisers, and popular prejudices. Aside from this, says a famous international journalist, the press is quite free. The American press is freest of all, but is growing less so. It is ultra-pro-capitalist, he adds sadly (Bobbs, Merrill, \$2.75.)

Our Enemy, The State, by Albert Jay Nock: Mr. Nock writes ably against the state—foe of our liberties, stupid tyrant—perhaps forgetting that it is this autocratic, bureaucratic state which defends the masses against the classes. Liberty for either, of course, means a virtual slavery for the other. Nevertheless, here is an excellent presentation, highly recommended. (Morrow, \$2.25.)

Hell Bent for Election, by James P. Warburg: A youngish New York financier, prominently associated with the New Deal in its earlier stages, finds plenty of fault with its present direction. He demonstrates herein that it is the Socialist platform of 1932, not the Democratic document, which has been Franklin Roosevelt's White House bible. (Doubleday, Doran, 50 cents.)

Rome Stoops to Conquer, by E. Boyd Barrett: After twenty years as a Jesuit priest, the author turned into a psychoanalyst instead! He is an Irish intellectual, and also knows his Yanks and Teutons first-hand. He describes methods by which Catholicism is said to be wishfully winning our America. (Julian Messner, \$2.75.)

Economics

Coffee, The Epic of a Commodity, by Heinrich Eduard Jacob: Arab, Dutch, French, British, German; these merchants in turn have controlled the world's coffee trade, with New York playing a part after 1850 and Brazil finally becoming all-important. It is a romantic, human story of a commodity that this German author relates, dealing with planting, harvesting, marketing, drinking. For some readers the later chapters, that tell of the burning of millions of sacks by the Brazilian government, will be most absorbing. Coffee brought a surplus problem to Brazil as long ago as 1906; and it was our coffee-drinking prohibition era that averted a later crisis. Final collapse came in October, 1929. (Viking Press, \$3.50.)

A Better Economic Order, by John A. Ryan: A Catholic liberal advocates mass-sharing of private property, according to the ideas of Pope Pius XI. For industry, the author believes in a guild-like system; for agriculture, small independent farm-erships as, let us say, in France or Denmark. He sponsors, furthermore, increased purchasing power put in the hands of the masses, to promote recovery. (Harpers, \$2.50.)

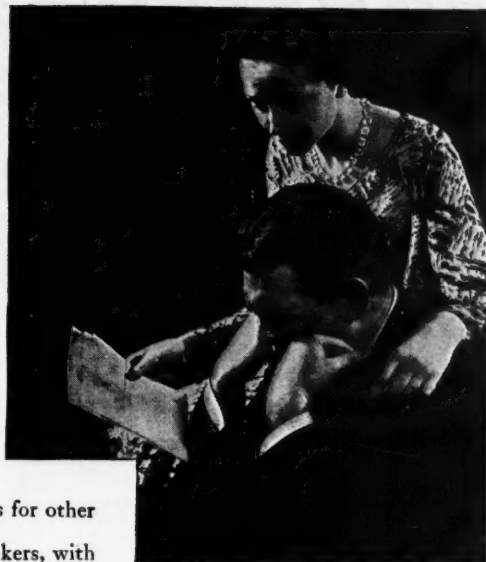
Steel of Empire, by John Murray Gibbon: Here is the romantic story of the Canadian Pacific railway, its legends, its technique, and its place in historical fact and saga. The building of the long line was an epic step in imperial consolidation, and was chief cause for Our Lady of the Snows being what she is today. (Bobbs, Merrill, \$3.50.)

The Agricultural Crisis, by Joseph M. Goldstein: Historical and thoroughly statistical study of the primary causes and effects of the crisis in food production all over the world. Author

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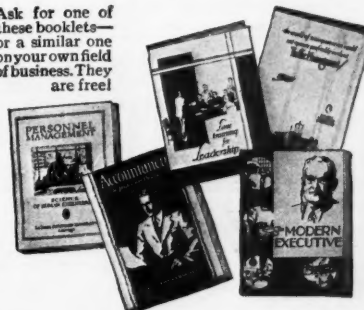
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This may well be a curiosity in publishers' advertising. But the thing advertised is no mere "book review." Stuart Chase, in the November SURVEY GRAPHIC Magazine, has made a masterly analysis of "Income and Economic Progress," the final volume in the exhaustive study of our economic system by the Brookings Institution.

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At many points, he steps out of character as a reviewer and (Chase speaking!) interpolates independent and arresting conclusions of his own.

SURVEY GRAPHIC—Magazine of Social Interpretation—is not generally available on the newsstands. The publishers offer introductory subscriptions to new readers only at the rate of 6 months for \$1.00—a saving of 1/3. These may start with November, the issue with "the Chase book review."

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is former chief of the political-economic seminary at the University of Moscow. America, Canada, Argentina, and Australia receive special attention. (John Day, \$4.)

Hold Fast the Middle Way, by John Dickinson: Recently Assistant Secretary of Commerce and now Assistant Attorney General, the author's views should be known by business men. Our economic problem, he holds, is but part and parcel of a social and humanitarian problem from which it cannot be separated. He preaches a middle-of-the-road policy as not merely the best but the only method of attacking evils. We shall be headed toward ruin if we turn back to an old policy which closed its eyes to all but one group of interests, or if we turn aside to new policies which utterly ignore those interests. (Little, Brown, \$1.75.)

People's Wants and How to Satisfy Them, by Paul T. Cherington: Few books of handy size carry as much information and wisdom, in your reviewer's opinion, as this one by an ex-Harvard professor of marketing, now a "distribution consultant". He traces the desire for satisfactory living, and its attainment by masses (as in Russia, Italy, and Germany) and by individuals. Business will do well, the author holds, to devote itself to the development of a better technique for keeping sensitive to people's ideas about what suits them. People's wants are the power which controls modern life. (Harpers, \$2.)

Abroad

Measuring Ethiopia and Flight into Arabia, by Carleton S. Coon: What could be timelier than a book on dusky Abyssinia, and here it is. An unorthodox, cheerful travel book, laid in the den of the Lion of Judah, with a subsequent flight across the Red Sea into sandy Araby. (Little, Brown, \$2.50.)

Burners of Men, by Marcel Griaule: Awarded the Prix Gringoire in France, and now translated into the tongue of Shakespeare. The author has marched 10,000 miles over African terrain, and knows his worm-eating Ethiopian foxes. The local blacks were shouting Christians when "civilizing" Italy was still mostly pagan. (Lippincott, \$2.50.)

Japan's Policies and Purposes, by Hiroshi Saito: The Japanese Ambassador to Uncle Samdom writes an excellent explanation of his country's domestic and international activities, informative, good-tempered, and to the point. It covers all factors currently and historically, and is here

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

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QUESTION: *Is the recently enacted Social Security legislation, offered by the Government, a substitute for life insurance and insurance annuities?*

ANSWER: There is no substitute for life insurance, as life insurance involves the application of the law of averages. This renders definite the indemnification of the value of an individual lost by reason of death, in having the losses of the unfortunate few paid by the smaller contributions of the many.

The Government's old age pension plan provides for a benefit if you die before age 65, but such benefit depends solely upon your earnings and will not be increased by the payments of other members in a group, as in the case of life insurance. The need for protection and income for you and your family, in the event of your death, continues and can only be met through life insurance.

While the old age benefit provided by the Government's plan is similar to an annuity provided by a financial institution, it lacks the flexibility of privately purchased annuities, which are available to all classes and in many forms to meet individual needs and desires.

You Cannot Escape

Q. *If an individual purchases an annuity and makes that contract a gift to another individual, are payments made thereunder taxable as income to the donee?*

A. If the purchaser—in reality the owner—divests himself of all rights in the annuity, the income thereafter is taxable to the assignee.

Annuity Taxes

Q. *Is an annuity, when assigned, subject to a large income tax, under the 1935 Act?*

A. The 1935 Act did not alter the 1934 law. After annuity payments begin, the taxpayer includes as gross income in his annual return 3 per cent of the aggregate net premiums

(gross premiums less dividends received) or consideration paid for the contract. Income in excess of 3 per cent is exempt. When the aggregate amount excluded, under present and prior laws, equals the aggregate net premiums or consideration paid, the entire income from the annuity is reported as gross income.

How Much Tax?

Q. *What amount would my estate be compelled to pay to the Government (not state) in the event of my death, on a net estate of \$100,000, before deducting the estate exemption of \$40,000?*

A. Your net taxable estate, approximately \$60,000, would be subject to a tax of \$5,400 (less a small state credit variable according to the laws of the state in which the person lives), plus administrative expenses and state taxes. Possibly the total would be nearly \$10,500, payable by your executor within the year.

If there is included in your total estate \$40,000 of life insurance, all of this is exempt from taxation if payable to a named beneficiary. It would not pass through your estate. Your administrative expenses, losses, taxes would be lessened, and—if the named beneficiary is also executor—your executor has sufficient cash to pay the necessary costs, taxes, and administration expenses.

Cash for Executives?

Q. *Why are insurance representatives urging me to have my estate partly liquid at my death because of the passage of both the 1934 and 1935 Revenue Acts?*

A. The estate of an individual will now require cash in much larger sums than ever before, not only wealthy individuals but also any one with property or bonds. Cash is required to pay taxes, estate settlement, funeral and current expenses, lawyers' fees, and the administration expenses. Every individual who can possibly afford to do so, should have enough cash (from 50 per cent on

the small estate to 59 per cent on the large estate) to pay off those definite obligations.

Settlement to the heirs is facilitated, as, until all obligations of the estate are cared for, the property is tied up in the courts while costs pile up. Without ready cash, it may take the executor some time to dispose of property and settle accounts in full.

A man cannot pick the time he dies. Life insurance furnishes cash, so that securities will not have to be sold immediately. Insurance keeps the property estate intact.

Three Per Cent

Q. *What is the Interest Income or Trust Fund Option of a life insurance contract?*

A. It is the first of the usual four options specified in a contract. Under this option, the sum payable is left with the company at interest, 3 per cent guaranteed, and as much more as the company shall apportion as excess interest.

This interest is payable annually, semi-annually, quarterly, or monthly, as directed by the insured. Some institutions will pay only the guaranteed rate of interest monthly, paying the excess interest in one sum at the end of the year.

One Trustee?

Q. *Is it possible to name an individual trustee as guardian of funds left by an individual, rather than a trust company?*

A. This plan is acceptable to some companies, but in others it is not. Owing to the complications and difficulties that might arise in making settlement, some companies decline to endorse the funds to an individual trustee. Some so-called trusts are created in an unsound manner, and it is best to name two trustees so that if there should be a death the successor can handle the funds in a satisfactory manner. With two or more individual trustees named, most companies will endorse such a fund in a reliable trust company.

Readers are invited to submit insurance questions. Answers will be given by mail or printed here. Address: Insurance Service Division, Review of Reviews, 233 Fourth Ave., New York.

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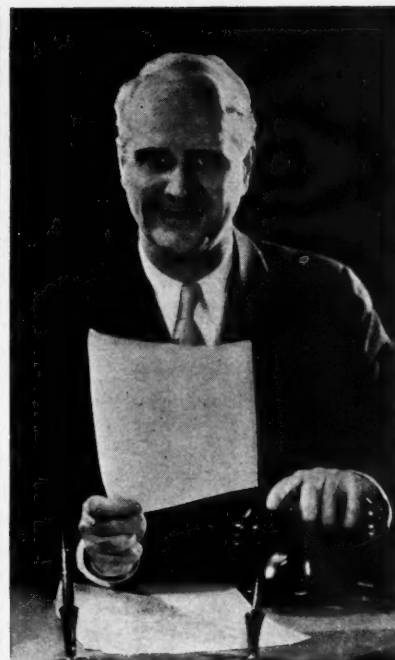
LOTHROP STODDARD is a leading American authority on racial matters, author of the famous *Rising Tide of Color* which sold close to 100,000 copies. He comes from the Boston area, and is a Harvard doctor of philosophy. He has traveled widely, and is the creator of many books on international politics, American economics, and matters of blood and heritage. Between trips abroad, he now resides in Washington, in close touch with foreign sources. He has written, intermittently, for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS since the early days of the World War, and is considered something of a prophet.

DAN D. CASEMENT is an experienced agricultural expert of Kansas, educated at Princeton, whose farm knowledge is practical and first-hand. He is president of the Farmers' Independence Council of America, which is a non-profit-making and non-partisan organization with its headquarters in Chicago. His diagnosis of our agrarian predicament is of special interest in the light of a coming electoral 1936 and the A.A.A.

JOSEF WECHSBERG, who writes so entertainingly of the Suez Canal, is a Central European journalist connected with the *Tagblatt* of Prague, Czechoslovakia, a liberal government organ in the German language. His travel-minded political article has been translated from German into English. It deals with a key hotspot.

LOUIS P. EISNER is a well-known New York lawyer, and a thorough student of U. S. constitutional matters. He was educated at Columbia, Brooklyn Law School, and New York University. He is now a partner of the law firm of Brodek and Eisner. This is the first of a series of three "constitution" articles to appear in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, since constitutionalism may well be the chief issue of the presidential campaign next November. Mr. Eisner has had practical experience with N.R.A. codes and economic legislation, and is especially qualified.

Jo CHAMBERLIN is a business and economic writer from Ohio, educated at the University of Michigan and the University of London. In this number he takes up one of America's most unusual businesses, which is still going strong after a very long and successful career. Romance and economics, Hollywood and Richard Harding Davis, are suggested by the historic second-hand war firm of the Bannermans in New York City.



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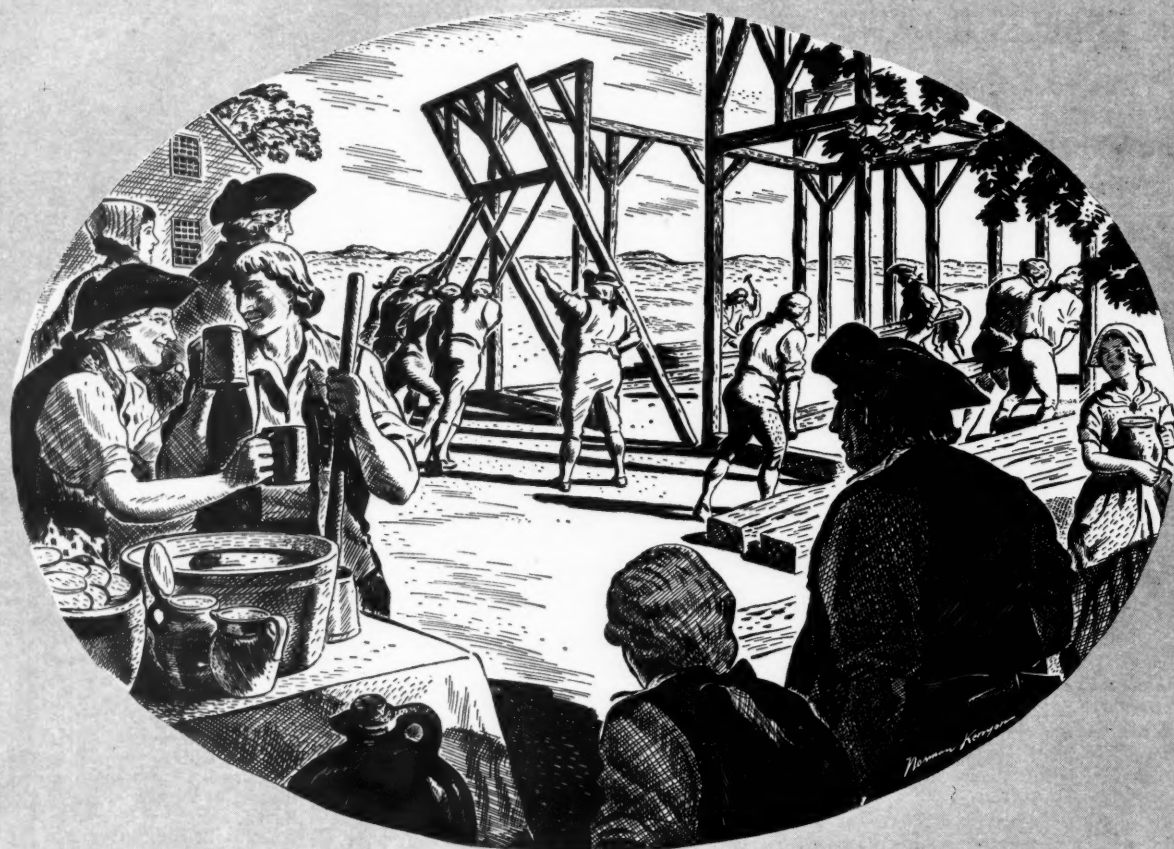
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BE A GOOD NEIGHBOR It's the Best American Tradition



THERE was a time, not so long ago, when being a good neighbor was a real factor in getting America going—and keeping us on our way.

In that day a man and his sons might cut and hew the timbers for a new dwelling and frame them stoutly on the ground. But before the walls could be raised, before the roof could go on, these builders needed and received the help of their neighbors. It was given generously in the old Colonial "house raising."

The same necessity for being a good neighbor, for helping the other fellow whenever he needed help, was recognized in all departments of early American life. Days of labor and the use of teams were exchanged as conditions of the crops demanded. And in time of sickness, fire, drought, attack, each man was in truth his brother's keeper.

In spite of the specialization of modern times, the speed and the scope of business and social life, there is, more than ever, the need for the good old American virtue of being a neighbor. No longer are you called upon to

help the other fellow frame and raise his house, or to fight shoulder to shoulder with him against a common foe. But it is your responsibility to support, as you are able, institutions that minister to his welfare and the welfare of his family as definitely as a pioneer ever helped his neighbors. Hospitals, clinics, day nurseries need and deserve your help. . . . So do homes for the aged, the blind, the incurable. . . . So do the agencies that build the youth of your community.

It's still necessary to be a good neighbor. And it's still possible. Support your Community Chest. Answer local welfare appeals. You will be the best possible neighbor in your own neighborhood!

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